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Parochial Annals of Bengal:

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A history of the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment
of the Honourable East India Company

IN THE

17th and 18th Centuries.

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COMPILED FROM ORIGINAL SOURCES

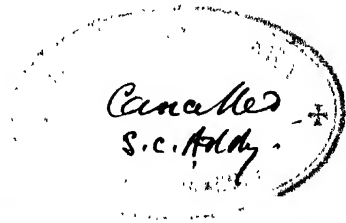
BY

HENRY BARRY HYDE, M.A.,

A SENIOR CHAPLAIN IN HER MAJESTY'S INDIAN SERVICE.



JOHN EVANS,
FIRST BENGAL CHAPLAIN, 1678.



Calcutta:
BENGAL SECRETARIAT BOOK DEPÔT.
1901.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE present compilation attempts to bring together all notices that could be collected from the records of the East India Company relating to its Chaplains in Bengal during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, supplementing them from all available contemporaneous documents. The local records of the Company were almost entirely destroyed in the sack of Calcutta by the Nawab's army in 1756. From that year until the time of Mr. Warren Hastings' Governor-Generalship, they are very meagre, but from thence onwards they rapidly improve in extent and completeness. The local records include the Parish Registers of Calcutta, and after 1787 the vestry minutes of the Presidency Church. Up to 1756 the student of Bengal affairs has to rely almost exclusively upon the minutes of court, the correspondence and the duplicate diaries and consultation books preserved among the Company's records in the India Office, Westminster. These have been minutely searched for the writer by his father, Mr. H. B. Hyde, F.S.S.

Having little else than secular sources to draw from, it cannot be expected that the purely pastoral work of the Company's Chaplains can now be traced: even 'Spiritual Duties' Books' did not exist in Bengal before the Bishopric. Nevertheless enough of evidence exists to show that the colony of the Church of England in Bengal fairly reflected, generation by generation, the prevailing type of religious thought at home. Thus a protestant Whig ministered in Bengal in the time of William of Orange, the old High Church spirit surviving nevertheless at least to the middle of the eighteenth century. About that time the National

Church entered the very drearest period of her chequered history: nevertheless, it is but fair to maintain that even throughout the thirty years in which Clive and Hastings are the commanding figures, there is evidence of religious vitality in Bengal that is remarkable in so unspiritual a generation. But the evangelical movement was making headway at home, and soon Chaplains were sent out, disciples of Wesley and of Simeon, who propagated their principles of devotion under the Divine blessing among the English in Bengal.

In studying the scanty memorials here presented, four things should in fairness be borne in mind. The first of these is that clergymen of the Georgian period, when English religion had receded furthest from the Catholic ideals of the Church, must not be judged by the standards of zeal, piety, and canonical obedience now happily everywhere again recognized. In the next place, as the reader with an Indian experience will readily admit, they must have shared like other Englishmen in the tendency to moral as well as physical exhaustion inseparable from an enervating climate. Further, that they lived remote from all access to the fellowship of their brethren in the priesthood and from the supervision of their Diocesan, the Bishop of London, an isolation which, until pensions and furloughs began to be granted to Chaplains at the end of the eighteenth century, was for most of their number a lifelong misfortune. In the fourth place, their salaries were for a whole century so small that many of them must, like other superior servants of the Company, have engaged in commercial investments to obtain a sufficient livelihood and to provide for their widows and orphans.

It is often supposed that the Company's Chaplains made fortunes by trade. This is a point on which available documents might be expected to exhibit evidence. These pages faithfully present the whole of such evidence, and it amounts to this: two only of the Bengal Chaplains of the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries can be shown to have practised direct trade, that is, the buying and selling of merchandize. Of these, the earlier (Evans) died an eminent Bishop, and left the whole of his fortune to the service of the Church; the later (Butler) wholly failed in his speculations and died nearly insolvent. If the rest traded in any sense, it was probably only by subscribing year by year to joint-stock adventures. None of these appear to have enjoyed more than a moderate income from all sources. It is not until the golden age, when all the servants of the Company shared in monopolies and perquisites, that we hear of any Chaplain dying or retiring a wealthy man, and of these, one at least (Owen) was as averse on principle to anything like clerical trading as any High Churchman could be.

In the following chapters the writer has incorporated the contents of papers contributed by him to the *Indian Church Quarterly Review* and to the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society* at Calcutta, to the *Indian Churchman*, and to the *Englishman* newspaper.

He records his thanks for assistance obligingly afforded to him by (amongst many others) *Mr. H. Beveridge*, I.C.S., retired; to *Mr. Frederick Danvers* and *Mr. William Foster* of the India Office; *Mr. W. Banks Gwyther*, Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal in the D. P. W.; *Mr. P. Dias*, Librarian of the Imperial Library, Calcutta; *Mrs. and the Rev. Mr. Frank Penny*, LL.M., of Fort St. George; *Mr. A. T. Pringle*, Assistant Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, and *Mr. C. R. Wilson*, M.A., of the Bengal Education Department.

MADRAS. *Easter, 1900.*

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Parochial Annals of Bengal.

CHAPTER I.

1658 to 1686.

IN 1658 the East India Company resolved to appoint one Chaplain for the whole of their Indian factories, and addressed a circular bearing date "East India House, the 13th February 1657" (*i.e.*, 1658), to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge: at Oxford to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Connett, to Dr. John Owen, Dr. Thomas Goodwin, and Dr. Henry Wilkinson; at Cambridge to Dr. Tuckney and Dr. Arrowsmith.¹ The circular ran as follows :—

Worshipful,—The East India Company having resolved to endeavour to advance the spreading of the gospell in India, and the settlement of an orthodox, godly minister such an one as may instruct and teach the people that shall be committed to his charge, in building them up in the knowledge of God and faith in Jesus CHRIST : weo doe therefore make these our desires knowne unto you intreating that you would be pleased to afford us your assistance herein by recommending unto us for this purpose some such person whom you shall approve and declare to be a fitt Instrument both willing and able to undergoe and manage this great and good worke. Wednesday the 24th of this month weo intend, God willing, to proceed to choice and therefore if you shall find and know a person soe qualified we desire that before the time he expired he may present himselfe with your recommendations unto us. Weo are enforced to contract ourselves to the short time because our shipping upon necessity must depart by the latter end of the next month : For his encouragement we have settled an allowance of 100*l.* per annum certain with accomodation of Dyot, and there is no questions but his other benefits will be very considerable, therefore being confident of your ready assistance to the promoting of this good worke, we shall not further enlarge, but leave you to the direction of the Allmightie in this and all other good workes and remain.

Your assured friends

MAURICE THOMSON *Gover.*

[and seven others].

Ten years later it was decided to enlarge the Indian ecclesiastical establishment from one individual to four, and these were to be

¹ Diary of William Hodges, vol. ii, p. cccli.

appointed to serve at the factories of Surat, Fort St. George (Madras); the Bay (Hooghly) and Bantam. The evangelistic idea so clearly expressed in the circular to the Universities was continued; they were to be "qualified for learning, piety, and aptness to teach."¹

The salary of each, however, was no longer stated at £100, but as "50*l.* per annum each, and to have such further encouragement by way of gratuity as they shall be found to deserve." This gratuity was soon settled to be £50, thus practically making up for each Chaplain the original covenanted income of £100 a year. With this difference, the salary reckoned from the day of their embarking at Gravesend, while the gratuity, which might be diminished or withheld if the local factory council deemed their Chaplain undeserving of it, was counted only from the date of landing in India.² To the present day the *rank* of the covenanted servants of the Indian Government dates from their departure from England, while their *service* counts from that of their arrival in India.

It appears, unless the resolution has been misread, that on the 23rd September 1668 the establishment was enlarged to six, the two new Chaplains being destined for Bombay and St. Helena.

Although the court resolved so early as 1667 to appoint a Chaplain at their chief factory in 'the Bay of Bengal,' namely, Hooghly, there is no trace of any one being actually sent there until the Rev. John Evans went out in 1678. The Rev. J. S. M. Anderson³ gives a list of Company's Chaplains appointed in India between 13th December 1667 and 13th December 1700 (twenty-three in all), and includes the following:—

10th September 1675—Richard Portman.

22nd December 1676—William Badgent.

Of the latter nothing is known: the name is perhaps given in error. The former was appointed either to 'the Coast' or 'Bay,' and actually settled at Madras as the colleague of 'good master Patrick Warner,' the Chaplain there.⁴ Perhaps Portman acted from Madras as Visiting Chaplain of the Bengal factories. The earliest known Bengal Chaplain was John Evans, whose Indian career is now to be traced.

In the Bishopric of Bangor, County of Carnarvon and Parish of Llanaelhaearn are two small mountain farms, known for ages past as

¹ Court Book No. 26, 2nd October 1667.

² Court Book No. 26, 13th December 1667 and 2nd January 1667-68.

³ *History of the Church of England in the Colonies and foreign Dependencies of the British Empire.* London, 1848.

⁴ He arrived 7th July 1676.

Cwmcoryn and *Brynbychan*. These throughout the seventeenth century were owned by a family which, the English custom of fixed patronymics not being then prevalent among the Welsh, used in some of its members the surname *Evans* and in others *Hughes*. Of this stock one Owen Hughes, who founded a conspicuous family in North Wales and died in 1708, became a Member of Parliament. It is said by tradition—for this the late venerable and learned John Evans, Archdeacon of Merioneth, to whom the writer is much indebted for information respecting his namesake, is authority—that to the influence of this Owen, his cousin, JOHN EVANS, owed his eventual elevation to the throne of his native Bishopric. On this point, however, an alternative view will be suggested later. Tradition also, according to the same authority, preserves an old Welsh rhyme, telling how wealth accrued to the house of *Cwmcoryn*. The Archdeacon translates it thus :—

At Corseirch grow the rushes green ;
 A seat marks *Dol-y-penrhyn*.
Cefnmain may boast its banks of whin ;
 Its girls the pride of *Nevin*.
 To sound of drum whilst Ireland meets,
 An heiress greets *Cwmcoryn*.

The allusion in the last couplet is probably to the Irish rebellion of 1641, and so dates the wedding. Who the heiress was is not ascertained. Very likely it is her arms which appear quartered with the double-headed eagle in John Evans' shield,—the three ragged staves afire.¹ At any rate it is a fair conjecture that John was a son of hers, for he was brought into the world in 1649 or 1650—not, however, in the family house of *Cwmcoryn*, but at *Plas-du*, that in which John Owen, the Epigrammatist, 'The English Martial' had lived, within the neighbouring parish of *Llanarmon*. At the age of 17 or 18 John was sent to Oxford and matriculated at Jesus College. On 19th April 1671 he graduated B.A., and M.A. on 3rd July 1674. Entering Holy Orders and apparently marrying, he appears in the Minutes of the 'Committees' of the East India Company on the 12th September 1677 as Curate of *Thistleworth*, now called *Islesworth*, about 12 miles from London. No record of his name, however, can be traced in the registers of the parish; he plainly served under a resident Rector. Evans was recommended by Sir Joseph Ashe—one of the four and twenty 'Committees' and afterwards Right Worthy Governor

¹ See title-page.

of the Company—for appointment to one of the six chaplaincies which then constituted the whole of the Company's existing or projected Ecclesiastical establishment—Surat, Fort St. George, the Bay (*i.e.*, Bengal), Bantam, Bombay and St. Helena. Two of the Directors—Mr. Paige and Mr. Sheldon—having enquired into the qualifications of the Curate of Thistleworth, it is recorded in the Minutes of Court on 2nd of November 1677 that—

The court receiving a satisfactory character from several of their members of the qualifications and abilities of Mr. Evans, Minister of the Gospel, they were pleased to elect him to be their Chaplain in the Bay at 50*l.* per annum salary and 50*l.* per annum gratuity if he shall be found to deserve it and comport himself to the compa. satisfaction. The same to begin from the time of his imbarquing and sailing from Gravesend. It is ordered that 20*l.* be paid to Mr. Evans for the providing of himself with necessary accomodation for the voyage.

These were the usual terms: the £20 was not only intended to be spent on outfit, but on fresh provisions for the six months' voyage.

The rates of Chaplain's pay and gratuity remained for a century unaltered from 1658, when Francis Marsh was elected Chaplain of Surat. In 1757 Evans' successor, Richard Cobbe, Officiating Chaplain of Calcutta, was drawing pay at these same rates.

The preliminaries to the embarkation of a Chaplain in the Company's service did not then include the approval and license of the Bishop of London,—that condition appears first, under royal command in 1685,—but it almost certainly did include the signing and sealing an indenture prohibiting him from trading in any of the Company's commodities. The servants of the Company, ecclesiastical as well as civil, were not forbidden to trade in other commodities, and were most likely even expected to do so to supplement their very small salaries.

In founding their chaplaincies in 1658 the Company say in their circular letter already given—

We have settled an allowance of 100*l.* per annum certain [on the Minister] with accomodation of Dyet, and there is no question but that his other benefits will be very considerable.

The diet would have been at first rations and two meals daily at the common table of the officials of the factory. Allowances for commons continued long after the collegiate system—save so far as the junior writers were concerned—had disappeared out of the factories, and were only abolished from the Bengal Chaplains' allowances at the re-organization of the affairs of Fort William on its recovery from the 'Moors' in 1757. The 'other benefits' held out by the court may be

plausibly conjectured to imply profits from traffic in certain commodities in the inland markets.

John Evans must have sailed for India in about a month after his appointment, for on the 20th of June 1678 he reported himself at Fort St. George.¹ Three days later he arrived at Balasore and established himself at Hooghly, then the chief of the English settlements in the 'Bay of Bengal.' It is too much to suppose, for the Factory was then in an ill-disciplined state, that he could have found anything like the devout customs that were reported in 1663 as being observed at Surat obtaining there. At Surat divine service used to be said,—by the President apparently, for there is no trace of a Chaplain there at that period,—at six o'clock every morning and at eight every night and thrice on Sundays. At Surat in 1663 an Oratory had been prepared.

Wee have separated [write the Governor and Council of that factory to the Court] a place apart for God's worsp. and decently adorned it, wherein stands yor. library and amongst them those severall volumes of ye holy bible in ye Languages weh. is much esteemed by those that are learned amongst those people; yt. if any eminent p.son come to your houses his greatest desire is to see the Chappall; wherefore wee entreat you for further ornament, to send us out a large table in a frame, gilded and handsomely adorned with Moses and Aaron holding the two tables containing the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, written in letters of gold, and in ye midst at ye topp in triangles, God's name writt in as many of these easterne Languages as Arabick Persian &c., as can be procured: which if you please to honour our Chappel with, it will beo a glory to our religion [&c.]. . . . 28 Jan. 166 $\frac{1}{2}$.²

Such was the best style of chapel then practicable at an Indian factory. Evans must have done his best to provide the like at Hooghly, and a chapel is found in use there in 1679. *Surat* is the only factory from which we have detailed early accounts of social and religious customs. These were governed by the Court's express instructions—a set of 10 regulations, known as 'The Company's Commandments,' sent out to their factories in 1683 to be publicly placarded. The spirit in which these were carried out at Surat is indicated in a long letter of Mr. Streyntsham Master's dated Bombay, 18th January 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ (*vide* Sir Henry Yule's *Hedges*, vol. ii.). He says—

The English performe all their publike Devotions in the Company's Factory house, where there is a Roome sett apart on Purpose in the manner of a chappell for Divine Worshipp. . . . He that omitts Prayer on a weeke day pays 2s. 6d. on a Sunday 5s. . . . here is a most excellent govern'd Factory, indeed more like into a Colledge, monasterio or a house under religious orders than

¹ Ft. St. G. Pub. Cons. ii, p. 110.

² Prof. Forrest's *Bombay State Papers*.

any other. . . . We have Prayers every morning before the Dores of the Factory are open, and every night between 8 and 9 a clock after the Dores are shutt: upon Sundays we have twice in the day Solemn Service and Sermons read or Preached, and Prayers at night, this office is Performed by the President, and in case of his absence by the chief of the Councill or other next in the Factory if there be no minister (or *Padre* as we call them). If there be a Minister in the Factory then he performs his duty as in churches in England, Catechizing the Youth on Sundays after Evening Service, and administering the Sacrament the 3 great Festivals of the yeare and sometimes oftener, and Burying the Dead. And in these Dutys we are continually exercised, keeping strictly to the Rules of the Church, and soe much as conveniently we can observing the times and days appointed for Feasts and Fasts. For upon the great Feasts of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntido we have the solemn service, Publicke Feasts, and noe great busyness permitted to be done in the ffactory house, and all the Country people know why we are so Solemn, and Feast and are Merry. Soe also for Gun Powder Treason Day, and on the 29th of May for the King's Birth and Returne. And upon the principall Fasts we have very strickt fusts kept, noe busyness done in the house, and the Publicke Prayers used upon the occasion, as in Lent, especially upon Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, the 30th of January for the Martyrdom of King Charles the First, and some persons there are, of which the President is one, that keep weekly Fasts upon every Friday. [He goes on to say that in the Inland Factories Divine service and Sermon was read twice each Lord's Day.]

But this was the godliest factory in India, and Hooghly was one of the laxest, still here we have the standard which the new Chaplain would have had in his mind to establish within his *cure*.

The other factories under his pastoral charge were—Balasore, Kasimbazar, Malda, Patna and Dacca. To his earliest visit to the former of these the following letter, quoted by Sir Henry Yule (*Hedge's Diary*, vol. ii.) seems to relate:—

To Mr. Richard Edwards, Chief for ye Hon'ble Company's Affaires att Ballasore. These—

Worthy Sr.,—My last to you had no other bussnesse but to acquaint you that I intended to accompany Mr. Byam to Kindoa, where I beg'd yr. hour. to meet me.¹

I promised myself a great deal of Satisfaction in your good company which would sufficiently recompense the trouble I might possibly meet with in the voyage, but alas! my forward hopes are allready dasht, and I am forc'd to be Extremely rude to you, for Mr. Vincent has order'd the sloopo not to touch att Kindoa.²

¹ John Byam was wife's sister's husband to Evans and appointed to be Mr. Edwards' successor at Balasore. Kindoa appears in a Dutch Map of 1660 as lying behind Hidgelee.

² Matthias Vincent was Chief of Hooghly Factory: he managed affairs very badly save in his own interest, and is accused not only of homicide, 'diabolical arts with Braminees,' 'exercising charms,' 'using poison,' but of dealing with the Interlopers.

And Mr. Heron¹ and others tell me that I run a great hazard of my Life, If I venture in one of these country boates from the Sloope to the forementioned place, &c., &c. . . .

I am yr. faithfull and humble servant,

JOHN EVANS.

Hughly, Aprill 2nd, 1679.

On the 12th of January in the next year he obtained leave again to visit Balasore on the *Recovery*, and returned by the sloop *Lily* on the 5th of April.

At his head quarters Evans would have been allowed a free house, and, if he wished it, dinner and supper at the public table; but having a wife he doubtless availed himself of the then new regulations as one of "those that are married and doe desire to dyett apart"—and received instead diet-money. He also received Rs. 6 a month for servants and he had his candles free. The relative rank of the superior members of the factory may be gathered from the wages-allowance list for 1679:—Chief Rs. 14; Second of Council Rs. 6; Minister Rs. 6; Third Rs. 5; Fourth Rs. 5; Chyrurgeon Rs. 4; Secretary Rs. 2; Steward Rs. 2.

The Chief and the Second were allowed a palanquin each, but the Chaplain was not, still he was doubtless permitted to use one other emblem of rank, at the charge of the company, as were the Presidency Chaplains, of which an evidence of the period is found in the diary of Fort St. George—

1676, 16th August.—There being an ill custome in the ffactory of *writers* having roundells carried over their heads. . . . It is therefore ordered that noe person in this ffactory shall have a roundell² carried over them, but such as are of the *councell* and the Chaplaine.

We can imagine the *padre* taking his walks abroad, his state roundell borne above him—in the then universal clerical costume,—like that of a modern bishop, with the addition of a pudding-sleeved gown, bands, an ample wig and a shovel hat.

On 16th September 1679, Mr. Streynsham Master, then transferred from Surat and Bombay and advanced to be President of Fort St. George, arrived at Hooghly and remained two months to correct abuses. He was accompanied by the Rev. Richard Elliott who had recently arrived at Madras, first Priest in charge of the new Church of St. Mary the Virgin, of which the foundation had been laid by Mr. Master on the

¹ George Heron, a Hooghly Pilot, who died at Madras on 2nd May 1727, aged 81.

² For 'roundell' we now say 'umbrella.'

Lady Day of the previous year. We cannot doubt but that the acquaintance of these two months with two such men—zealous of propagating the pious discipline of old Surat—was of both solace and advantage to the isolated Bengal Chaplain—unless that is, he was too much of a protestant (in the modern sense) to fall in with their High Church ideas,—in which case, advice was probably supported by the President's plain orders. Perhaps we trace their suggestions as well as the Chaplain's instance in the fact that in the 31st of December of that year the Hooghly Council wrote home begging that a Church Bible might be sent out for the use of the factory.

At any rate Mr. Master's voice speaks plainly enough in the following disciplinary orders:—

Hughly, December 1679.—Orders made by us the Agent and Council for affairs of the Hon'ble English East India Company upon the Coast of Choromandell and in the Bay of Bengale (for advancing the Glory of God upholding the honour of the English Nation and the preventing of Disorders) to be observed by all persons employed in the Hon'ble Company's Service in the factories in the Bay of Bengale.

L. S.

For as much as by persons of all professions the name of God ought to be hallowed his services attended upon and his blessing upon our endeavours sought by daily prayers as the quality therefore of our plan and Employment requires and in discharge of our duty both to God and Man, first we do Christianly admonish every one employed in the Service of the Hon'ble English East India Company to abandon lying, swearing, cursing, drunkenness, uncleanness, profanation of the Lord's Day and all other sinful practices and not to be out of the house or from their lodgings late at nights or absent from or neglect morning or evening Prayers or doe any other thing to the dishonour of Almighty God, the corruption of good manners or against the peace of the Government, but if any will not hear us admonishing then we doe by virtue of the powers derived to us from the Hon'ble the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading in the East Indies and by authority of the King's Majesties Royal Charter to them granted order and appoint that whoever shall be found guilty of the following offences shall undergo the penalties hereunto annexed—

1. Whosoever shall remain out of the house all night (without license from the Chief) or be found absent at the shutting of the gates after 9 at night (without a reasonable excuse) shall pay ten rupees to the use of the Poore or sitt one whole day publickly in the stocks.
2. Whosoever shall profane the name of God by swearing or cursing shall pay 12 pence to the use of the Poore for every oath or curse and in case of non-payment after demand the said sum shall be levied by distress and in default of such distress the offender shall sett in the Stocks three hours.
3. Whosoever shall be guilty of lying shall pay 12 pence for the use of the Poore for every such offence.

4. Whosoever shall appear to be drunk shall pay five shillings for the use of the Poore for every offence and in case of non payment after demand the said summe shall be levied by distress and in default of such distress the offender shall sett in ye stocks 6 hours.

5. Whosoever (Protestant) shall lodge in the house (whether actually in the Company's service or not) that shall be absent from the public prayers morning and evening on the week days (without lawful excuse) shall pay twelve pence for the Poore or be confined one whole week within the house for every such default and whatsoever Christian in the Hon'ble Company's Service that shall be absent from the Public prayers morning and evening on the Lord's Day (without lawful excuse) shall pay twelve pence for the Poore for every such default and in case of non payment after demand the said sum shall be levied by distress and sale of the offenders goods and in default of such distress the offender shall suffer imprisonment until payment of said sum so forfeited by law.

6. If any by those penalties will not be reclaimed from their vices or any shall be found guilty of adultery, fornication, uncleanness or any such crimes or shall disturb the pcece of the factory by quarrelling or fighting and will not be reclaimed, then they shall be sent to Fort St. George there to receive condigne punishment.

7. These orders shall be read publickly to the Factory twice in a year that is upon the Sunday next after Christmas day and upon the Sunday next after Midsummer day in the forenoon after divine service that none may pretend ignorance thereof and all persons concerned therein are hereby stoutly charged and commanded to give due observance and not to act contrary to same upon pain of undergoing the penalties appointed and suffering further displeasure.

In confirmation whereof we have hereunto sett our hands and the Hon'ble Company's Seal the twelfth day of December anno Domini 1679 and in the one and thirtieth year of the roigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

STREYNHAM MASTER.

MATTHIAS VINCENT.

RICHARD MOHUN.

One of the factors or writers shall be monthly appointed by the respective Chiefs to note and collect the forfeitures and to pay the same to the Chief who is every yeare to send it to the Chiefe at Hooghly and they are to remit the whole collections every yeare to the Agent, &c., at the Fort [i.e., Fort St. George] there to be paid to the overscers of the Poore.¹

Thus it is evident the Chaplain said Mattins and Evensong daily in the Chapel at Hooghly.

Mr. Master reported the state of Bengal affairs to the Committees, and the upshot was that in 1681 they sent out William Hedges as their Agent and Governor with instructions to "seize upon the person of Mr. Matthias Vincent, our late Chief in the Bay, and send

¹ Hooghly Diary, 1679. India Office MSS.

him forthwith a prisoner on board the ship *Defence* to England." This arrest was effected in July of the following year, and was accompanied by the dismissal, among several others, of two of Evans' firm friends and probably—alas! for the abuse of the times—trading partners, Edward Littleton and John Pitt,—indeed it is possible that the Chaplain himself had a chance of sharing in their dismissal—for he was implicated in their offence—almost the very worst known to the Company, and which it was Hedges' mission and almost monomania to suppress, namely—trafficking with the Interlopers;—that is, with private merchants, who, in defiance of the Company's charters, persisted in running their sloops up the Bengal rivers and trading with the several factories' best native customers.

After a short stay at Hooghly Mr. Hedges started on or about the 10th of October on a tour of the other factories and Evans accompanied him, taking advantage perhaps of the presence at the port of the Rev. Mr. Leseley, Chaplain of the Ship *Defence*, by which the new agent had come out,—then lying at Balasore,—to leave charge of his spiritual duties in his hands. Mr. Leseley probably sailed by the *Defence* on the 24th January following, soon after being relieved by the Chaplain's return.

On the 5th December 1682, Evans was at Dacca with Mr. Hedges, and thence wrote a letter which still exists. (See Yule's 'Hedges'.)

The merchant to whom it is addressed was apparently an Interloping trader, Captain of the *William and John*, whose next visit to Hooghly was on 16th June of the next year. Evans' letter thus was possibly never received by his correspondent, but miscarried into the Company's hands.

To Mr. Edward Read, Merchant In London, Dec. 5, 82, Decca.

Worthy Sr.,—Yrs. of Janry. 16, 1683 I recd. by Capt. Willdye's ship, the new agent being arriv'd some Weekes before. I am sorry the Ladie's unwillingness should deprive us of enjoying your good company here once more. Mr. Vincent and Mr. L[ittleton] are in a fair way to finish their busnesse to their own heart's content; if they can escape att home as they have done here, they are very fortunate men. I shall refer you to Mr. Charnock, Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Pounsett for particulars of this year's transactions.¹

¹ Job Charnock, then chief at Kasimbazar; he had arrived in India 1656 and entered the Company's service 30th September 1658; Samuel Harvey then chief, and John Pounsett then second of Council at Dacca. It is interesting to note, in view of what will be said later, Evans' implied friendship with Charnock; as for the second let us hope he did not deserve the suspicion the Court had of him in 1676 we are informed that Mr. Harvey doth openly broach his Atheistick notions, declaring that there is neither God nor Devill, but that after death all things will be reduced to Atome, of which they were first compounded, and that Religion was onely devised by subtle men to keep the World in awe.

The two Interloping Gentlemen Leave the country with high indignation against them, and severall others amongst us, threatening to doe mighty matters when they arrive in England, but I hope their expectations will not be answer'd in every instance. Mr. Vincent's ill will to me continued to the Last, for no other reason, but that *which you know very well*. . . . I would not quarrel with all those he was an enemy to. If upon enquiry you understand that he endeavours to bespatter me among my Patrons in the Committee, I entreat you to prevent his ill designs by Securing my interest and reputation with them. I received a letter from Mr. Marshall att My Lord of London's, [Henry Compton, who survived to take part in the Consecration of the ex-Chaplain into the Episcopal Order twenty years later,] he writes that you and he are pleas'd to remember me when you meet, for which I return you my hearty thanks. I design to write him this shipping, and take all possible care in procuring those insects he writes for. It pleas'd God to take to himself both my children in June last, and my wive's sister who was married to Mr. Byam miscarried and dyed the same month. My wife is grown exceeding Fatt and . . . she presents her humble service to you and yr. good Lady, and soe doth

Sr. yr. humble servant,
JOHN EVANS."

There is no trace of any other children born to Evans. If he married but once, then his wife, who had apparently accompanied him to Dacca, was Frances, an heiress, judging from the inescutcheon of the armorial shield used by him in after years,¹ of the Welsh family of Glynne of Llenar and Fachwen, who survived him nine years and six months.

If he continued in Mr. Hedges' suite, he left Dacca a fortnight after writing this letter and spent the Christmas of 1682 with his friend, Mr. Job Charnock, at Kasimbazar. By a comparison of ages and dates on tombstones in St. John's Churchyard with other records it is plain that Mr Charnock's family then consisted of the three daughters who survived him and whom Evans not until seven years later was enabled to baptize.² On the 30th of December the party reached home again.

Hedges continued the whole of the next year at Hooghly, with a visit to Balasore,—he seems to have disliked and suspected every body and not to have scrupled to intercept and open correspondence,—it was thus, perhaps, that Evans' letter from Dacca got into the Company's possession. On 26th September 1683 he wrote in his diary at Hooghly—

Captain Alley [the interloping owner of the ship 'Lumley Castle'] for the better conveniency of private discourse, and notice not to be taken of them

¹ See title-page.

² See page 15.

went to our garden this afternoon [that is the 'English garden' a public resort and mooring place 2 miles N. of the factory] to meet Mr. Evans our Minister and his brother-in-law Mr. [Richard] Trenchfield [Member of Council] what the design should be I cannot imagine.

This William Alley was a Cadiz merchant and a friend of the Chaplain. He had a great belief in the value of imitating native pomp in dealing with Indian magnates, and few days later he paid a visit to the Military Faujdar of Hooghly in this style;—in imitation of Hedges' own!—

Alley went [says Mr. Hedges] in a splendid equipage, habitted in Scarlet richly laced. Ten Englishmen in Blue Capps and Coats edged with Red, all armed with Blunderbusses, went before his Pallankeen, 80 peons before them, and 4 musicians playing on the Weights, with 2 Flaggys before him, like an Agent.

On his way home to England next year Mr. Hedges has more to say on the subject of Evans and these free merchants.

Agent Beard [he writes], Mr. Evans (the Minister) and Mr. Trenchfield were very often in company with the Interlopers, especially the two latter who are seldom out of their company.

And yet again, that Mr. Robert Dowglass, the Chirurgeon, told him that—

Mr. Evans, our Minister did frequently converse and associate with Captain Alley and was so intimate with him that he carried his wife to sup at Captain Alley's house; and that Mr. Evans took his leave of Captain Alley when he was going to England, and to his knowledge sent a packet of letters by him and he believes Tokens also . . . Mr. Evans kept more company with Captain Alley, Mr. Davies [Thomas Davies, another interloper, afterwards caught and imprisoned! by Job Charnock] and Mr. Littleton than he did with those in the Factory.

All this of course may be merely vague vapourings of a suspicious mind, but here is something more definite. A certain Dane, writes Mr. Hedges, named Daniel Joachim Schlu, had complained to him that notwithstanding certain kindness, one Cooke

. . . was so unworthy as to call Mr. Evans (the Minister) and him, two great knaves; saying they cheated him of half a rupee per maund in all the copper and tutenag [zinc] which he sold them. Where by the Bye, I cannot but acknowledge Mr. Evans busies himself too much in trade and merchandize for a man of his coat, being one of the greatest traders in Hughli.

Such gossip and very much more concerning nearly every chief servant of the Company in Bengal we may be sure Mr. Hedges

transmitted home by every packet. It is an eloquent comment¹ on the value of it all to read in the Court's letter of the end of 1683.

We have thought fitt and doe hereby . . . dismiss Mr. William Hedges from being Agent in Bengall and from having anything more to doe with any of our affairs in the East Indies.

Still there can be no doubt but that Chaplain Evans accommodated himself to the necessity of trading like other members of the factory with peculiar aptitude and interest. Yet even though he dealt with interloping merchants, it would be unjust to stigmatize him as a mere self-seeker on the score of his friendships and investments. The ungrateful Cooke's slander is of no weight. If taxed with trafficking in this world's goods by some High Church objector, he would certainly with the ready Welsh energy that characterized him have defended himself, out of the sacred Scriptures. On his tomb was inscribed 'Venerabilis in ethnicis.'¹ How do we know therefore that he did not, beside his regular pastoral duties, labour to acquire Bengali and Portuguese that he might preach the gospel to the Moors and Gentoos and Papist Musteechees? All equally idolaters, no doubt in his eyes. Would that somebody had recorded something of his pastoral Ministry. Gossip and scandal against a priest are relished by the world; it takes his piety for granted and forgets it.

¹ See page 24.

CHAPTER II.

1686 to 1724.

THE years 1686-90 were a stormy crisis in the fortunes of the Bengal factories. Hooghly was unfortified and under the precarious protection of the Faujdar of the Nawab or Viceroy of Bengal and his troops. Mr. John Beard, the new Agent, shortly after being put in charge by the President of Fort St. George in October 1684 must have received the Court's letter urging the need of fortification. The immediate danger was apprehended from Dutch jealousy influencing the Native Princes. Some counselled venturous and precipitate action, and it is interesting to note as betokening the influence of the Chaplain at Hooghly that Mr. Hedges records—though of course he puts his own prejudiced construction upon the fact—that on the 22nd November 1684 Mr. Beard the chief and three others had voted in council *not* to break friendship with the government, 'being persuaded to this opinion by Mr. Evans the Minister.'

Before any defensive measures whatever were taken hostilities began on the 28th of October 1686 with a fracas between the British soldiers in the factory and those of the Nawab. Job Charnock had become Agent in the previous April, and he valourously defended the company's property ; but on the 20th December was forced to withdraw with his Council and the whole of the effects and establishment of the factory—'all ye Rt. Hon. Company's concerns and our own'—to the low and swampy village of Sutanuti-hât or Chuttanuttee beside Calcutta. The Chaplain and his wife of course accompanied him, shared the perils of the occupation of malarious Hidgelee, the siege

there and at Sutanuti by the pursuing Moghul forces, the temporary removal of the Agency to Balasore, and finally the forcible transportation thence by the Company's Agent-general, Captain Heath, in a squadron of men-of-war, of Charnock and all the surviving English—28 souls—to Madras, where they arrived in February or March of 1689.

At the presidency Evans found St. Mary's in charge of his old acquaintance, Richard Elliott, and he at once began to assist him in the Chaplaincy—probably only as a temporary cure while the Bengal agency was in abeyance. In April 1689 his name first occurs in St. Mary's Registers as administering Holy Baptism. The previous month he had officiated at a funeral. On the 15th of April 1689 he was one of 17 subscribers to a venture to China and Persia, the entire amount being £10,150. His contribution was £500.¹ On the 19th of August of the same year he baptized Mr. Charnock's three daughters, Mary, Elizabeth, and Katherine.²

Invited by the new Viceroy of Bengal, 'the famously just and good Nabob Ibrahim Khan,'³ Job Charnock ventured to return with his party from Madras in July 1690 and attempt a new settlement of Sutanuti, and actually began his third and final occupation of the village on the 24th of August 1690. This is the true foundation day of the City of Calcutta. There exists at the India Office a series of eleven volumes, extending to 1706, the first of which is entitled *Diary and Consultation Book for affairs of the Rt. Hon'ble English, East India Company, kept by the Rt. Worshipful the Agent and Council beginning 16th July 1690*. From this the extracts following are taken. They disclose the state of things with which the Agent and Council had to contend during their first week of settlement.

The *Diary* records:—

1690, August 23rd. On board the *Maddapollam*. [The party had quitted the vessel that had brought them from Madras, perhaps at Balasore, and had embarked on a *Ketch* to ascend the Hughli River.]—Ordered Mr. William Skinner Pyllott to leave the *Maddras* Frigate and go on board the *Maddapollam* to help her to go to Chutanuttee.

They ascended the river safely as far as Sankraal, a village on the west bank of the river just below the present Botanic Gardens, and within sight of the Thana fort which stood on the site, it is believed,

¹ J. J. 22, India Office. His colleague Richard Elliott had a joint adventure in Musk to China in 1686 with one Charles Metcalfe, a Company's merchant.

² See Mrs. Frank Penny's Book on Old Fort St. George and a note on page 45.

³ Fort St. George Pub. Consultations, Thursday, 10th October 1689.

of the Superintendent's house and was then held by the Nawab's Government. The Diary continues:—

August 24th. This day at Sankraul ordered Captain Brooke to come up with his vessel to Chutanultoe, where we arrived about noon, but found the place in a deplorable condition, nothing being left for our present accommodation and the rain falling day and night. We are forced to betake ourselves to boats, which, considering the season of the year, is very unhealthy. *Mellick Burcoordar* and the country people at our leaving this place burning and carrying away what they could. On our arrival here the Governor of Tanna sent his servant with a compliment.

This *Mullick* had formerly been Governor of Hooghly, and in 11th January 1686 had acted as one of the Nawab Shasteh Khan's three Munsibdars or Commissioners to treat with Charnock for the establishment of the new factory. The articles were concluded, but the Nawab did not confirm them, and it was believed the whole negotiations were merely a ruse to secure to the Nawab time for his military preparations against the English. In November 1687 he was again employed during the second settlement for a similar purpose, this time as sole Commissioner; and, though Captain Heath in his headstrong manner refused to listen to him, professing to believe that the recent death of Mullick's brother in war with the English had incurably prejudiced him against the Company's interests, he was apparently really desirous of adjusting peace. Heath on the 8th of November embarked Charnock and all his Council and subordinates on board his vessels, and so abandoned the Sutanuti factory buildings to be pillaged by the natives.

Mr. Henry Stanley and Mr. Mackrith had been sent on as Charnock's representatives to occupy Hooghly. They arrived there about a fortnight before the latter reached Sutanuti. Charnock, anticipating that the commonest conveniences of life would be unobtainable on his arrival, wrote to Stanley to ask for supplies, to which request Sir Henry Yule preserves a portion of a reply (H. D. ii, 283).

The necessaries your worship, &c., gave us a note of are such of them as are ready to be had, herewith sent, *viz.*—

1 pr. of *Gurras* [thought to be a sort of coarse cotton cloth, *gārhd*],
10 as. per pces.

3 large Dishes of our own stores from Madrass.

2 dozen of Trencher plates belonging to Mr. Croke, such as he sold
for 2½ rupees per *corgs* [*i.e.* per score].

The rest shall follow. . . .

On *Thursday, the 28th of August*, the first consultation of the Bengal Council was held at the newly re-established factory. It is worth quoting in full from the Sutanuti Diary :—

At a consultation—Present:

The Rt. Worshipful Agent Charnock.

Mr. Francis Ellis.

Mr. Jero[miah] Peachie.

Resolved that a letter be sent to Mr. Stanley, &c., to come from Hughli and bring with them what Englishmen are there that the warr with the French may be proclaimed and also that Commissions be given to all command[ers] of ships in order to the prosecution of the same.

In consideration that all the former buildings here are destroyed, it is resolved that such plans be built as necessity requires and as cheap as possible, *viz.*—

1. A warehouse.
2. A dining room.
3. The Secretary's Office to be repaired.
4. A room to sort cloth in.
5. A cook-room with its conveniences.
6. An apartment for the Company's servants.
7. The Agent's and Mr. Peachie's house to be repaired, which were part standing, and a house to be built for Mr. Ellis, the former being totally demolished.
8. The Guard House.

These to be done with mudd walls and thatched till we can get ground whereon to build a factory.

Resolved that 2,000 maunds of wheat and 200 maunds horse grain be bought at Manloa [Mandoa?] that being the cheapest place and here to be provided 6,000 maunds rice, 200 maunds butter and 200 maunds of oyle to be sent to Fort George.

JOB CHARNOCK.

FRANCIS ELLIS.

J. HILL, Secretary.

JEREMIAH PEACHIE.

A few days later under date of *August 31st*, the Agent and Council record the following memorandum—

Received advices from Mr. Meverell at Ballasore that Captain Haddock departed this life the 23rd instant as also that a Portuguese vessel was arrived bringing news of the French Fleets coming to the bay and that the Dutch Commissary is coming with 4 shippes from Negapatam. Governor Pitt with 5 ships from Maddrass also Captain Heath from said place and that 3 Danes Shippes from Trincumbar are ready to joine with them.

September 5th. All the English according to order being arrived from Hughly war was proclaimed against the French.

These hostilities against the French were the result of a declaration of war against that nation by King William dated 7th May, 1689, which, by His Majesty's accession on the following 9th September, to the Treaty called "The grand alliance," implied a general attack on French trading interests throughout the world. The Dutch and Danish vessels mentioned in the foregoing memorandum were coming to support the British in their attack upon the French Indiamen.

So began a desultory naval warfare which lasted in Indian waters for several years.

The Sutanuti Diary thus exhibits to us Charnock and his Council of two, his few factors and his 30 soldiers passing the first week of what proved to be their final and successful attempt to found the factory, which has become the City of Calcutta, under most deplorable circumstances.

They could not live ashore because of the excessive rain and because of their former mud-built houses only three were even partly standing; therefore they made the best of it in sloops and country boats; in addition to this they expected to be engaged in immediate war with the French.

It would seem that many months passed before they materially bettered their condition; for from two extracts from the Fort St. George letters preserved by Sir Henry Yule (which he says convey the whole information he had been able to collect respecting the first year or two of this establishment of Charnock's) we learn that so late as May of the next year, 1691,

they (in Bengal) could dispose of little [merchandize] nor have they safe goedowns to secure them from damage, and the truth is they live in a wild unsettled condition at Chuttnutec, neither fortified houses nor goedowns, only tents, huts and boats, with the strange charge of near 100 soldiers, guardship, &c.

This 'guardship' suggests that they had not succeeded in erecting the projected guardhouse, and was apparently a 'great portuguez frigott' purchased by Charnock for the purpose.* It is probable that the Mahomedan Government wholly prohibited the erection by the English of anything like a defensible building in the Sutanuti village.

There is what appears to be evidence that the English were preceded at Sutanuti and Calcutta as they had been at Hooghly and Chinsurah by a small colony of Armenians, for in the churchyard of the ancient Armenian Church in Calcutta there is a tomb inscribed in the Armenian tongue to Rezabeebeh, wife of Sookkas, dated 21st Nakha in the year 15 of the Julfa era—said to be 11th July A.D. 1630. The

* H. D. ii., pp. 87 and 88.

slab is a piece of Palavaram rock from Madras; the ornamental border is exceedingly like to what was customary on such tombstones a hundred years later. Perhaps '15' is an error for '115.'

John Evans did not apparently return with the chief of his factory to Bengal, but continued to act as second Chaplain at Fort St. George until April 1691, after which he is not recorded to have performed any sacred rite for over four months. It is possible that he spent a portion of that period in Bengal not only at Sutanuti but at Hooghly, where the independent merchants were now forming a *Depôt*. Certainly while at Madras his old commercial talents, for which he found so ample and so plausible scope, were not left idle—though now, as one is constrained to admit, probably turned to a larger enterprize for which it is hard to find excuse. In some manner he was helping his old friends to form a coalition in rivalry of the company's sovereignty itself. The court had news of this and were naturally exasperated. In a letter which arrived during this interval of absence they speak of him as 'The quondam Minister but late great Merchant.'*

The Fort St. George President must have sent a confirmatory reply, for in about the July after his return to St. Mary's a further communication was received at the presidency, dated 22nd January 169½.

Mr. Evans having betaken himself so entirely to Merchandizing we are not willing to continue any further Salary or allowances to him after the arrival of our two Ministers. We are now sending you, because the charge of maintaining four at that place will be too great.

The two reasons for dismissing him are not consistent, but the intention of the Committees was plain. Accordingly on the arrival of the Rev. George Lewis—who the other Chaplain was does not appear—Mr. Evans had his congé, and his last recorded spiritual act was the solemnization of a marriage at St. Mary's in November 1692.

It is quite plain that the gigantic scheme of which presages were beginning to be felt in London was considered by the Company to be largely dependent upon the local knowledge and direction of their late Chaplain: on April 10th, 1693, they wrote:—

No Interloper, if they could, would adventur to Bengall, their hopes and confidence of making a voyage being singly in that man whom they hope to secure to themselves and their Interest by Mr. Trenchfield and the Merchant-parson Evans. But they know very well that the Parson and his Brother Trenchfield can do no feats with the Assistance of Muttridas.

[Muttra Das was an opulent dealer in *Mulmulls*, *Romals*, *Hummums* and other piece-goods at Hooghly.]

* Evans was then reputed to have amassed a fortune of £30,000 and had determined to return home. See a letter of the Rev. Jethro Bridesocke's in vol. ii of Hyde's *Syntagma* by Sharp.

Evans probably remained at Madras until the middle of the next year 1693. He was probably refused permission to leave the presidency. He was under the court's censure for his interloping connections, but this would not in the least hinder his being on terms of excellent friendship with his brother clergy and all the officials of the factory.

We get a glimpse of the social life which he shared at this period at the presidency in the account written in 1694 by the learned Dr. Prideaux Dean of Norwich of the English Settlements in the East Indies. It seems that the Portuguese and even the Dutch clergy had been pushing their way everywhere before the English. As for Madras the Dean says :—

The English East India Company do these maintain a popish Priest for their popish servants and subjects and a Dutch Minister for their Dutch subjects and servants, who do both take place at the common table before the English Minister; which is a great disparagement upon the English Church of which he is a Minister as well as upon him; and by making him look little in the eyes of the Factory renders his ministry of less effect among them, and therefore it ought to be remedied by placing the English Minister first, the Dutch Minister next and the popish Priest after both; whereas at present the popish Priest sits first, the Dutch Minister next, and the English Minister at the distance of many places below both.

Certainly English religion was languishing in Eastern India. The Dutch no less than the Portuguese were active in the cause of their faith. The Dean attributes the then superior prosperity of the Dutch in India to their care for the honour of God, a duty which he considered to be totally neglected by the English. But he is overstating the case here. He complains further that while the Dutch settlements were provided with Missionaries and their factories and ships with able Ministers the English crews were left wholly without prayer, instruction, or sacraments. The Chaplains at their factories were depressed, he says, and rendered nearly useless by the utter inadequacy of their allowances, and the promotion of Christianity among the natives was altogether neglected by the English.

Evans was waiting for opportunity to quit Madras. In June of 1693 he found it, and the presidency council report to Sir John Goldsborough, 'Commissary-general and Admiral of the E. I. Fleet' and 'chief Governour of the Rt. Hon. English E. I. Co. affairs' in India, then most likely at Fort St. David,—that he had sailed privately by night from San. Thomé on the Armenian ship *St. Mark**—bound evidently

* Rickson, her Captain, was taken to task by the Fort St. George Council for assisting in the escape, on the 4th July 1693.

for Sutanuti—that they had decided to write to the Agent there to detain him in that factory until Sir John should arrive there himself :—

Justly suspecting the buissey pollitick Padre goes on ill designs, to the prejudice of the Rt. Hon'ble Company's affairs [June 29, 1693].

Evidently the council omitted to send such instructions to the new officiating Agent Francis Ellis—for Charnock had died on the 10th of January previously, and later instructions to the same purport miscarried—for when Sir John himself arrives at Sutanuti in the beginning of August he hears that Mr. Ellis had given Evans leave to go on to Hooghly a few days before.

There exists a long account of Sir John Goldesborough's—who died at Sutanuti a few months after his arrival there—of the state of affairs in that factory. Regarding religion he states that he found the merchants and factors marrying black wives, who were or who turned Roman Catholics and became willing instruments of the Augustinian padres of Bandel. But Sir John had a prompt method with such popery; he turned all the Roman friars out of Sutanuti, he says, and condemned their 'Mass-house' to destruction. This chapel appears to have stood in the neighbouring village of Calcutta on the site of the old Fort William.

Evans most likely went to Hooghly to escape his Excellency Sir John. There his old associates were establishing a factory of their own, designed but not destined, under a charter of King William granted to a new East India Company in 1698 to supplant the old Bengal Factories. But his chief desire was to get home to England.

Padre Evans, writes Sir John Goldsborough under date of October 14th, lyes still at Hughly, he wrote to Capt. Dorrell to obtain Leave [from Sir John himself that is] that he might Imbarque on him for England, to which answer was returned that as he ran away from Madrass, if he Returned thither again, and came off fairly with Leave of the Government, he should have Leave to goe on what Shp he pleased.

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Captain Dorrell is known to have sailed in command of the C.S. *Charles II.* from Sutanuti in about the beginning of February 1694 for England, and Evans seems to have accompanied him to Madras, whither he brought communications from his Hooghly friends and so home. He would have thus reached London in about August of 1694.

Shortly after his return he was presented by Humphrey Humphreys, Bishop of Bangor, to the Rectory of Llanaelhairn, the parish in which his patrimonial lands were situated, then probably only part of a large

inheritance. On June 25th, 1695, at the age of 45 he was admitted by his University to the degrees of B.D. and D.D.

It is likely that he had other benefices and lived mostly in London. In April of 1698 he writes from 'Great Russell Street, near Montague House.' His name appears among those of the first promoters of the two venerable societies S. P. C. K. and S. P. G. Of the latter society he was an original Founder, his name occurring in the Charter, and first Auditor. To the former he subscribed annually £5 towards the object of providing 'Parochial Libraries throughout the plantations,'—which shows his reminiscence of a pressing want in Indian factories, and £5 for 'erecting catechetical schools and raising catechetical Libraries in the several market towns in the kingdom,' and £5 'towards lessening vice and immorality.' In August 1699 he was elected upon the governing board of the S. P. C. K. and thence onward until his elevation to the episcopate; he was among the most regular in his attendance at the meetings held, sometimes three times a month.

In political views, as need hardly be said, he was a most pronounced Whig: this doubtless it was which procured him the favour of King William III, for in 1700 that prince appointed him a member of the Commission which, with Archbishop Tenison at its head, was entrusted with the presentation to benefices in the crown patronage during His Majesty's absence in Holland. All the members, says so Burnet, were the King's personal choice, and he describes them—he himself being first and foremost!—as 'the learnedest, the wisest and best men that were in the Church.'

In 1701, Bishop Humphreys of Bangor was translated to Hereford, and Evans was nominated by King William to the vacant See. He was consecrated in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, on Sunday, January 4th, 1704, by Archbishop Tenison, Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who since 1685, if not since his accession to the Bishopric ten years earlier, had the spiritual oversight of the East India Chaplains, Bishops Lloyd of Worcester, Humphreys of Hereford, late of Bangor, Moore of Norwich, and Burnet of Sarum. The sermon was preached by Dean Hayley of Chichester. Printed copies of it exist. It contains no allusion to the Indian career of the new prelate.

When the news of his elevation reached Madras, the President or Consul John Pitt of the new 'English' East India Company—the same who had been ejected from his office at Hooghly with Edward

Littleton in 1682—writes to the latter now 'Sir Edward,' President at Hooghly for the new company's Bengal affairs.

I hear our old Friend Doctor Evans is made Bishop of Bangor (alias Bengall) and 'tis said by your means. I am glad you are Soe much in love with Bishoppes that you contribute to the making of 'em, Soe hope you'll Send him home a Super fine piece of Muslin to make him Sleeves.

The subsequent history of the Bishop need not here be sketched in detail.

He is signalized—says the late Archdeacon of Merioneth in a letter to the writer—as the last of a series of native and Welsh speaking Bishops 'who were succeeded by a list of appointments, whose total ignorance of our language marred the efficiency of the Church in Wales, which we are now in the painful process of retrieving.

On the 19th of January 171 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dr. Evans was translated to Meath, the premier Bishopric of Ireland. There exists a letter of Bishop Nicholson's of Carlisle to the Archbishop, wherein mentioning this promotion he seems pleasantly to allude to the past fortunes of the Bishop. 'My Lord of Meath . . . has frequently sailed with a prosperous gale.'

He received some acrimonious letters from Dean Swift, which are to be found in the latter's collected works.

On the 2nd of March 172 $\frac{3}{4}$ after a violent attack of the gout he died suddenly in Dublin, and was buried in the churchyard of St. George's chapel. The whole of his property after the decease of his widow and executrix was left by his will for the good of the church,—£1,000 for an Episcopal House at Ardbracon, £140 for his old Rectory of Llanaelhairn and the personal estate acquired previously to his translation to be applied by the Governors of Queen Anne's bounty for the benefit of poor clergy in England, and all after that period for the purchase of glebes and impropriate tithes for the benefit and endowment of churches in the diocese of Meath,—a truly admirable disposition of wealth acquired in the church's service. There is a well painted portrait of the Bishop in Lambeth Palace dated 1707, the 57th of his age.* In this he appears as a man of fine stature with marked and handsome features, suggesting rather great gentleness than that strong, determined character which it is known was his. Another portrait is said to be in possession of the Chapter of Bangor. On his tomb his widow inscribed the following epitaph—now long

* Photograph in *Parish of Bangor*.

disappeared—but furnished to the writer by the Rev. W. Reynell, B.D., of Dublin:—

M. S.

*Reverendi admodum in Christo Patri
IOHANNIS EVANS, S.T.P.
Maximè semper cordi erat,
Ministerium quod acceperat in Domino implere.
In juventute fuit ad remotas Indiæ evocatus.
Alacris [? Alacriter] exivit,
et Mercatorum ibidem agentium Societati,
variis in locis per viginti annos [P 16] a sacris [? in sacris ministravit].
Suavis sermone, aspectu gravis, moribus severus,
linguâ, ore, exemplo,—attraxit, concrevit, duxit ;
et fuit in ethnicis venerabilis.¹
Tandem in Patriam redux,
sub serenissimi Principis Gulielmi auspicio,
ad sedem Bangorensem—inter indegenas suas—evocatus.
Deinde, imperante Georgio, ad Midensem translatus.
In utraque diocesi vigilantissimum egit pastorem,
subditum fidelissimum,
reformatâ fidei vindicem acerrimum.
Omnis ubique tyrannidis strenuum oppugnatorem.²
Demum ecclesiæ emolumenta, tam in Hibernia quam in Anglia ;
prout seipsum vivens, moriens sua devovit.
Morte abiit repentina, sibi unice non improvisa³
2do die Martii anno Domini 1723⁴ ætatis suæ 74.
Monumentum hoc uxor mestissima amoris ergo posuit.*

It would not be fair to judge the pastoral career of this eminent man by the increasingly lofty ideals to which the Catholic revival is now, in God's providence, accustoming the English Church. We possess after all but an one-sided view of his Indian life. It is fair to remember that he quitted England while but an inexperienced priest and found himself at once in circumstances which he could not justly forecast in his quiet cure at Isleworth and in which both poverty and approved custom seemed to justify a resort to secular pursuits as a means of maintenance. He was a man of strong conscientious

¹ Can this refer to pastoral efforts among the Bongalis, of which no record exists ?

² An allusion perhaps here to his share in the successful resistance of the Interlopers to the monopolies claimed by the old company—or it may be only a note of his political, as the previous sentence is of his ecclesiastical party.

³ For he was found to have set his house in order by making his will ten days previously.

⁴ That is, 1723.

convictions as the latter 30 years of his life prove, in the direction of Orange Whiggery and, to use the term in its modern sense,—Protestantism :—*reformatæ fidei vindex acerrimus*. He would therefore have rejected as popish all but the most superficial views of his sacerdotal stewardship. For the rest he seems to have been, though gentle in speech, of a stern, upright, character, *suavis sermone, aspectu gravis, moribus severus*—a man respecting whom the world might be challenged by the testimony of her who knew him best. ‘He ever had greatly at heart to fulfil the Ministry which he had received in the Lord.’

CHAPTER III.

1691 to 1698.

ON the return of 'the Right Worshipful Job Charnock Esquire, Agent' and the rest of the Company's servants to Sutanuti [Calcutta] from Madras in August 24th, 1690, their Chaplain—the Rev. John Evans—did not accompany them, but continued there as Assistant to the Rev. Dr. Richard Elliott. It is likely, however, that some time in the following year he visited 'The Bay,' for in the Register of Baptisms at Madras his name is not found as administering that Sacrament there between April 6th, 1691, and April 1st, 1692. He probably quitted Madras for good on the arrival of the Rev. G. Lewis as second chaplain on the 4th of October of that year. The Company had judged him disloyal to their interests; and circumstances as well as his own talents, misapplied no doubt considering his sacred calling, had made him the most influential local promoter of the interests of the 'Interlopers,' or Free-merchants, now rapidly consolidating their powers into a rival trading organization. Consequently it is unlikely that on quitting Madras for 'The Bay' towards the end of 1692 he did more than pay occasional visits to the new settlement of his old friends from Hooghly, where there is evidence that he now established himself.

At Hooghly the Interlopers, doubtless under the favour of the Mahometan government, were now strengthening themselves. We must presume that the old factory buildings there, and among them the Chapel, were restored to use. There can be no doubt but that at this time the Settlement of the Free Traders at Hooghly presented a much more flourishing aspect than that of the Company at Sutanuti. Of the latter the Governor of Fort St. George wrote to the Court on the 25th of May 1691 to the effect that the little struggling factory there could dispose of but little merchandize; that Mr. Charnock, the Agent, was little better than a prisoner at large; that the return from Madras on the faith of a promise of a trading firman, which had not yet been issued, had been ill-advised. 'The Bengal gentlemen,' so Governor Elihu

Yale sarcastically remarks, 'being in hast to return to their sweet plentyes which sandy Madras could not please them in.*' The 'sweet plentyes,' however, could not be secured without trade, nor the trade without goods, nor the goods without at least some weather-tight buildings to store them in,—even these they lacked.

A few months later (2nd November 1691) no improved account could be given. There is allusion to a severe mortality, engendered no doubt by the swampy nature of the surrounding country, and to the continued refusal of the Mahometan Government either to sanction the erection of factory buildings or to permit native merchants to trade there. Indeed, Charnock and his subordinates and their military guard were maintaining themselves in the face of personal danger from war as well as from malaria.

Apparently the Government wished to force the Company's Bengal factory to remove nearer to the oversight of its local military officer, the Faujdar of Hooghly, and actually offered them a site for it two miles below Hooghly—next below the Dutch Factory of Chinsurah it would seem. This offer, however, Charnock refused to entertain.

Two months later than the date of the letter above quoted, namely on the 10th of January 1693, the sturdy old father of Calcutta died on the spot where, in defiance of Government, malaria, the advice of his own superior at Madras, 'for the sake (only) of a large shady tree'—if we are to credit the local gossip preserved by Captain Alexander Hamilton—he had planted the Bengal factory.

Let us hope that one of the visits of ex-chaplain Evans from the more thriving colony at Hooghly to the interdicted factory of Sutanuti was to administer the last offices of religion to his old friend—for his end was not sudden†—and to lay his remains in the earth in the spot now covered by the mausoleum that bears his name.

The Charnock Mausoleum‡ in St. John's Churchyard is a massive structure, octagonal in form with a double dome.§ In each face there is a low and narrow archway. It was placed so as immediately to front the original entrance to the Burying-ground, which opened north of it. It is fair to assume that the date of the structure, which has every appearance of great antiquity, is that of the cutting of the inscription in memory of Job Charnock. This date is ascertainable within narrow limits. There are four black stone slabs now within the tomb—two

* H. D. ii, 87.

† H. D. ii, 93.

‡ As. Soc. Progs., March 1893.

§ Photograph in *Parish of Bengal*.

of them certainly removed thither from other parts of the ground. Of the remaining two, one, of surprising thickness, is to the memory of Catherine White, the youngest daughter of Job, who died on the 21st January 170⁹; to this slab a fellow is found outside the mausoleum, exactly like it in size and details of ornament; this latter is to the memory of Jonathan White, 2nd of Council, Catherine's husband, who died January 3rd, 170³. It is one of 30 or more monumental slabs which were removed from other parts of ground when the ruinous tombs were dismantled in 1802. As Catherine's epitaph and this one must have originally been set close together, we may therefore reject her's also from being, as is usually supposed, one of the proper occupants of the mausoleum. It must be acknowledged that this slab to Catherine is so strikingly like, both in size and ornament, to that of her father, beside which it is now fixed upright, that it would never occur to the casual observer, especially if he had not noticed her husband's epitaph outside, that the memorials to Job and Catherine were not originally intended to lie side by side. A closer observer will readily detect a striking difference in the style of lettering.

One slab only therefore now remains for consideration—that which bears the name of the Father of Calcutta himself. This slab contains two inscriptions—the former is to Job Charnock, who died January 10th, 169³, and the latter to his eldest daughter, Mary, wife of Charles Eyre, Charnock's next successor but one in the Bengal agency; she died on February 19th, 169⁷. A close inspection of this slab and comparison of the lettering of the two inscriptions make it abundantly plain that they are not contemporaneous works, but that the lower half of the slab had been purposely left blank to receive such an inscription as it now exhibits. Thus the mausoleum with originally one epitaph must have been completed some time prior to the year 1697, and the addition made to it prior to the early part of 1698, when Mr. Eyre returned home, for it is to be presumed, from the terms of the epitaph, that he was at the time when it was written actually 'prefect of the English.' It is true he returned in 1700 and for a few months resumed his former charge, but it was with the title of knighthood, which does not distinguish his name in the epitaph.

Charles Eyre, as Charnock's son-in-law and successor in the agency, is the likeliest person to have erected the mausoleum. It is possible that he may have done so at the charge of the Company, for the court had certainly a very high opinion of the worth of its old servant, but no evidence of this is forthcoming, and it is likely that so exceptional a

testimonial of good opinion as the dedication to his memory of this costly monument by the company would have found some expression in the epitaph.

As an argument that the mausoleum is not likely to have been built within a good twelvemonth and more of Charnock's death, may be adduced the disorderly condition of the factory at that period. On the 12th of August 1693, Sir John Goldsborough, the Company's Supervisor, Commissary-General and Chief Governor in East India, visited the settlement, and has left an account of the deplorable state of affairs he found there. Charnock's place was filled by Mr. Francis Ellis, an old servant of the Company, who had done nothing to reform the licentious and riotous living of the resident English which had strangely disgraced the two years and five months of Charnock's government of his new settlement. These disorders require some explanation, seeing that Charnock in Hooghly and Kasimbazar was certainly a man of will and of honour in his discharge of his duty towards his masters. They may be partly explained by supposing that his physical and mental constitution had, after an abnormally long and trying residence in Bengal, at length broken down. An indolence crept over him which became marked by a timorousness strange to his former self-reliant character. The expectation of the formation of the rival company daunted him. 'The law courts at Madras scared him exceedingly, so that he was afraid to think of meddling with any body.' 'Everyone did that which seemed good in his own eyes.' He never even planned out the premises of a factory: everyone built houses, enclosed lands, or dug tanks just as and when he chose. His feebleness was accompanied by a restless temper and savage moods. Tradition, as it came to Captain Hamilton a few years later, said that he loved to inflict the *chabuk* on his native subordinates for transgression of his arbitrary commands, and that "the execution was generally done when he was at dinner, so near his dining room that the groans and cries of the poor delinquents served him for music." Some said he turned heathen and sacrificed a fowl on the grave of his native wife at each anniversary of her death. Sir John Goldsborough asserts that he developed a fancy for encouraging quarrels between his subordinates; and leaving his business affairs in the hands of the Captain of his little garrison (now reduced to a sergeant, two drummers and twenty sepoys), he used to amuse himself with the help of the said sergeant in arranging duels out of the quarrels he had fomented. While the worshipful agent led the disorders, the Captain [Hill] pandered to the debaucheries. He kept, without being required to pay the fees for a license,

a public punch-house* and billiard table, and he 'let his wife turn papist without control.'†

It is quite likely that in the markedly devout mould in which Charnock's epitaph is couched, we should trace a strain of vindication on Eyre's part as against detractors of the estimable qualities which marked his father-in-law's true character ere his mind became clouded in his last two years. It is remarkable that the epitaph attributes his Christian burial to the will of the deceased himself, and the Christian hope expressed is uttered in Charnock's name.

The epitaph reads as follows:—

D. O. M.

*JOBUS CHARNOCK, Armiger
Anglus, et nuper in hoc
regno Bengalensi dignissimus Anglorum
Agens.*

*Mortalitatis suæ exuvias
Sub hoc marmore deposuit, ut
in spe beatæ resurrectionis ad
Christi judicis adventum
obdormirent.*

*Qui postquam in solo non
Suo peregrinatus esset diu,
Reversus est domum suæ æterni-
tatis decimo die Januarii 1692.*

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* A writer in the *Calcutta Englishman* of May 17th, 1895, says that the first factors of Surat about 1610-20 are credited with having invented *Punch*, which held its own as a supper drink till quite recent years. The name is said to have been derived from the native word *panch*, in reference to the five ingredients—brandy, sugar, limes, spice, and water. A youthful traveller, J. Albert de Mandelslo, an account of whose travels was published in London in 1689, visited Surat in 1688, and stayed some months with the President at the English factory there. In his quaint and interesting account of the English manner of living he says:—

"On Fridays after prayers (at 8 P.M.) there was a particular assembly at which met with us three other merchants who were of kin to the President and had left as well as he their wives in England, which day being that of their departure from England they had appointed it for to make a commemoration thereof and drink their wives' health. Some made their advantage of this meeting to get more than they could well carry away, though every man was at liberty to drink what he pleased and to mix the sack as he thought fit, or to drink *Palepuntz*, which is a kind of drink consisting of *aqua vitæ*, rose water, juice of citrons, and sugar. At our ordinary meeting every day we took only that which is commonly used all over India, not only among those of the country, but also among the Dutch and English, who take it as a drug that cleanses the stomach and digests the superfluous humours by a temperate heat particular thereto." Another drink was "burnt wine," which was drunk of a morning. It was prepared by boiling cloves, cinnamon, and other spices in wine, which was drunk in sips boiling hot "to comfort the stomach." In the earlier years country arrack was commonly drunk by the English, in punch or mixed with cold water for its cheapness' sake, imported wines being beyond the means of all but the wealthy; and it led to a terrible amount of drunkenness among the soldiers and the young writers, numbers of whom died yearly from excessive

Mr. Eyre took charge of the agency on the 25th January 169‡, and since the inscription slab was *in situ*, with its lower half vacant in February 169‡, the erection of the mausoleum cannot therefore be dated many months earlier or later than the year 1695. We may certainly therefore claim it to be the oldest example of British masonry now existing in Calcutta. The original Fort William itself was not begun till 1696 and was three years in building.

In the year 1696, then, we may assume the mausoleum stood as we see it now and contained within it a table monument bearing on its upper face the slab of black Palavaram granite, now entitled from this specimen *Charnockite*, with its epitaph, wrought in raised letters at Madras. We may assume that the monument was of table shape from the fact that the slab is worked in mouldings on the under-side of its edge, suggesting that it was to project somewhat all round beyond a base of masonry.

There can be no doubt therefore that whoever else may have been afterwards interred within the great tomb, the body of Charnock must have occupied the central position. It had been the general impression derived from the resonance of the floor of the mausoleum when struck by the foot about the centre that it contained a hollow vault. This floor having become decayed and the whole edifice being in November 1892 under repair by the Department of Public Works, it was thought well to take advantage of the opportunity before a new floor was put in to ascertain by some small excavations whether such a vault existed or not. Legend affirmed that Charnock had been interred in the same grave with his native wife, and the vault might contain some evidence in support or refutation of this legend, or perchance coffin-plates or other objects that might afford historical information. The earth was accordingly opened to a depth of about four feet, but no trace of a vault appeared except that the quantity of bricks mixed up with the earth suggested that a brick grave had originally existed which might have been destroyed when Mr. Eyre opened the tomb to lay the remains of his wife Catherine beside those of her father in February 169‡. The excavation was then ordered to be stopped, but through some misunderstanding it was continued. The present writer must here speak of his own experience, he being at the time of the excavation incumbent of the senior

drinking. In Madras the vice reached a deplorable pitch, and Sir William Langhorne, the Governor, in 1670, framed a set of rules by which drunkenness was punished by a fine and the stocks, and no person was allowed to be served in a tavern with more than half a pint of arrack or brandy, and one quart of wine at a time, under a penalty of 1 pagoda upon the house-keeper, and 12 fanams on the person exceeding the quantity.

† O. C. 5900 ; H. D. ii, 92.

chaplaincy of the parish. On visiting the mausoleum next morning, viz.—on Tuesday, the 22nd of November 1892, he found that the grave had been opened to a depth of fully six feet, at which depth the diggers had stopped, having met with a trace of human remains. The excavation was somewhat smaller than an ordinary grave and lay E. and W. in the centre of the floor. At the bottom of it the workmen had cleared a level, at the western end of which they were beginning to dig a little deeper when a bone became visible. This bone was left *in situ* undisturbed, and the digging had ceased on its discovery. On seeing this bone he felt sure it could be no other than one of the bones of the left forearm of the person buried, which must have lain crossed upon the breast. A little beyond it he observed a small object in the earth which he took at first for a large coffin nail, but on this being handed up to him it was very apparent that it was the largest joint of, probably, a middle finger and, judging from its position, of the left hand. This bone was replaced. No more earth was permitted to be removed save only a little above and to the east of the remains, sufficient to reveal a black stratum in the soil which might have been the decayed coffin-lid. It was quite evident that a few more strokes of the spade would discover the rest of the skeleton, perhaps perfect after just 200 years of burial. There can be no reasonable doubt, but that arguing from the position of the body and the depth at which it lay, it was the very one, to enshrine which only, the mausoleum was originally built: the mortal part of the Father of Calcutta himself.

Having seen what he did, the writer had the grave filled in, for he feared to leave it open lest the coolies might ransack its contents in search of rings or other valuables, and further he felt it improper, in view of the interest which must attach to such investigation, to permit himself to continue it alone. If it were to be prosecuted at all it should at least be in presence of a representative company of Englishmen. For his own part with the bones of the famous pioneer's hand accidentally discovered before him, and the strange and solemn statement of his epitaph just above them that he had laid his mortal remains there himself—*ut in spe beatæ resurrectionis ad Christi judicis adventum obdormirent*, he felt strongly restrained from examining them further.

The discovery was at once duly reported to the chief officers of both of the civil and ecclesiastical Authority within whose jurisdiction it had been made.

The bones disclosed lie at a depth of six feet below the middle of a line drawn upon the floor between the innermost western edges of the S.W. and N. W. entrances to the mausoleum.

The epitaph added beneath Job Charnock's is—

Pariter jacet

MARIA, JOBI Primogenita CAROLI EYEE Anglorum
hæcæ Præfecti Conjux Charrissima.
Que obiit 19 die Februarii A. D. 169½.

That on the slab now beside the former is—

Hic jacet

CATHERINA WHITE

Domini JONATHANIS WHITE, ux̄or dilectissima et
τοῦ μακαρίτου Jobi Charnock
filia natu minima;
quæ primo in partu et ætatis flore
Annum agens unum de viginti.
Mortem obiit heu! immaturam 21 Januarii 170¾.
Siste parumper, Christiane Lector
(Vel quis es tandem) et mecum defle
Duram sexus muliebris sortem
Qui per elapsa tot annorum millia
Culpam primæ Evæ luit Parentis
Et luct usque; Dum æternum stabit
In dolore paries filios.—Genesis iii, 16.

About the time of the decease of Job Charnock the Court vethought itself to fill up the Chaplaincy of the Bay which its own order had vacated, and one *William Rudsby* [Merton Col., Oxf. B. A., Oct. 29, 1686], late Chaplain of the *C. S. Kemphorne*, volunteered for the appointment. The *Kemphorne* had visited Sutanuti in 1691,* and Mr. Rudsby must have been both a bold and a sanguine minister of the Gospel to offer himself for the arduous charge of Soturbulent station. The Court, as is abundantly evidenced by its records, was, at this period at any rate, especially solicitous to secure as its Chaplains men of piety and ability, and ordered enquiries in these respects to be made concerning Mr. Rudsby, with the result that he either was deemed unfit, or withdrew his application—at any rate he was never elected.†

On the 12th of August 1693, Sir John Goldsborough visited Sutanuti and Calcutta, and his account of the disorders of the factory has been already mentioned.‡ He remanded both Francis Ellis and Captain

* O. C. 5271, H. D. ii, 87.

† C. B. No. 36. 17th Feb. 169½.

‡ On the anxiety of the Court at this time to correct immoralities, see B. G. Bk. ix., p. 257 and p. 402; also orders to Captains, B. G. ix., p. 262.

Hill to Madras and sent home a report on the state of morals in the factory, and the Court did its best to devise means for its reform. Evidently, however, it had not heard of the report concerning Mr. Charnock's ill influence in the matter, for on the 6th March 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ it wrote to Sutanuti:—

We hear that some of you have become Bullies and Heelors, and that there has been challenging and fighting amongst you, which is so unbecoming and destructive to merchants that we doe hereby make it a standing rule and law that whosoever shall give a challenge to fight any of our English servants, shall forfeit to the Company 200 pagodas besides the immediate loss of his place. And who shall accept any challenge or fight any duells, shall forfeit 400 pagodas besides the loss of his place, to be recovered by actions or information in any of our Courts of Justice in Madras. So that if our Agent for the time being should happen to be of so mild a spirit as Mr. Charnock was overmuch, it is but giving to our Lieut.-General, President and Councill of Fort St. George information of such crimes and the persons guilty, and they shall have our order to send Bailiffs down to fetch up such refractory persons to justice.*

Sir John Goldsborough's allusion to the conversion to Roman Catholicism of the Captain's wife† reveals at once the decay of English Christianity in the settlement at this time and the activity of the Roman. The Augustinian friars of the Portuguese Priory of Bandel by Hooghly were numerous and active there. A large number of the servants of the factory had contracted matrimonial and other alliances with Portuguese women and *Musteches*, mostly Roman Catholics; and for their benefit the friars had built a Chapel. Thus it is likely that for several years about this period the only public Christian worship within the settlement was that of the Roman Church. It was impossible but that Romanism under these circumstances should progress in the settlement; and it deserved to progress. Sir John Goldsborough mentions the activity of the friars, and adds that the example of the conversion of Captain Hill's wife had been quickly followed.

The restraint of pauperism in Sutanuti and Calcutta was another object of Goldsborough's reforms. It seems from the passage following that a considerable number of indigent persons were immediate pensioners of the Company's cash:—

. . . . See was 8 rupees a month allowed a blind Englishman which I have reduced to 4 rupees, which will maintain him well. Also here was a black blind fellow and his family from Hugly pretended to be an Englishman's son (otherwise bastard) who they gave 4 rupees a month to, him I have returned to

* B. G. Ek. ix., p. 492.

† See page 30: also Sir J. W. Kaye's *Christianity in India*, p. 63.

Hugly again to live as he did when the English were not there. And here is an old fellow come from Pattana for to hang upon your Honours' almes to whom they gave 5 R. a month, besides the steward allowed him milk daily, to this man I have allowed him a peon's wages $2\frac{1}{2}$ R. a month. Thus have they received all that come but contributed nothing themselves.*

It is evident that the Chapel, or to quote Sir John Goldsborough, the 'Mass House'† mentioned in this Report—containing the first Christian Altar in the settlement—was not, as is usually supposed, on the site of the present Augustinian foundation of our Lady of the Rosary, now the Roman Catholic Cathedral, but lay presumably within the area afterwards covered by Fort William. It was most likely a humble thatched building with wood and plaster walls, like the majority of the bungalows that had been erected during the previous three years.‡

In place of the deposed Agent Ellis, Sir John Goldsborough appointed Mr. Charles Eyre, then at Dacca. This gentleman took up his duties on January 25th of the next year. He married, it will be remembered, Mary, eldest daughter of the late Job Charnock. Her epitaph, in the Charnock Mausoleum in St. John's churchyard, is dated 19th February 1697.§

Sir John's reforms were cut short by death three months after his arrival. The cold weather of the year 1693 began with a very sickly season. The work of the factory was almost suspended for want of native labour. On the 4th of November Sir John wrote: 'We are extreame sickly here this season, boath Natives and English, but I hope God will restore us all.' A few days later he fell himself a victim to the prevailing disorder. No epitaph to his memory exists in the churchyard.

It cannot be doubted, considering Sir John Goldsborough's personal character, his high station as almost autocratic ruler of the Company's establishments in the East Indies, and his special mission of reforming abuses, that he must have enforced the Company's discipline in its religious as well as in its moral and civil departments—'the Company's ten Commandments.'|| We may safely assume,

* O. C. 5900—Several passages omitted in H. D. ii, p. 93.

† See pages 21 and 34.

‡ There is a record [H. D. ii, 94] of one brick house with a terraced roof; this stood also within the site of the fort traced out by Sir John Goldsborough. This house was bought for the Company, and it formed the first pucca lodgment of the Company's official staff and of its Records.

§ See pages 28 and 33.

|| Cf. H. D. ii, 306, and pages 5 and 2.

therefore, that, at the very least, during his three months' residence at Sutanati the Church offices of Mattins and Evensong were said on Sundays in the settlement—in the common dining-hall of the covenanted servants most likely—by some official appointed to that duty in the absence of a Chaplain.

From this time onwards for nearly seven years no trace has yet come to light of any resident Chaplain at the factory. It need not be supposed, however, that it was ever for many months together destitute of clerical ministrations. The principal ships of the Company carried Chaplains, who of course would have ministered the Sacraments for the settlement while detained at the port. Besides this the settlement was at this time still a dependency of Fort St. George, where until 1698 the Company had for several years maintained two Chaplains. It is to be presumed, therefore, that one of these Chaplains paid occasional visits to 'The Bay.' In a list of Bengal servants dated November 1695 there is no Chaplain.*

The Court, however, always designed to have one Chaplain in Bengal. Accordingly in the Court Book, No. 36, under date of 13th December 1695 appears the following entry:—

The Court receiving a satisfactory character of the ministerial abilities and qualifications of *Mr. Isaac Polewheel* were pleased to elect him by Ballot to be Chaplain for the Bay of Bengal on the usual terms given to others.

These usual terms were £50 per annum salary, to begin from his embarkation at Gravesend, £50 per annum gratuity (*i.e.*, what would now be called a personal allowance) from his arrival in India, and £20 outfit money. £100 per annum certainly sounds but a scanty income on which to maintain a wife and family, but then all the covenanted stipends of the Company's servants were small in proportion. Thus in 1714 the Bengal accounts show that the only higher salary and gratuity than the Chaplain's were those of the Governor himself, who received then £200 per annum salary and £100 gratuity.† But, then, as is shewn by an account of the year 1751 quoted by Sir Henry Yule,‡ the local allowances were extremely ample. They covered probably the Governor's entire expenditure and more for 'diet,'§ house-keeping,

* R. R. a 3. [India Office] last page.

† B. P. C. ii.

‡ H. D. ii, 11.

§ A "General Table" was kept at the factory: this had been discontinued in 1710, and "diet-money," no doubt, substituted. It was ordered to be resumed by Genl. Letter to Bengal 5th Jan. 1719, para. 72. It was considered to be a means of restraint upon the extravagance of unmarried junior factors and writers, who at the same time were required to live, if possible, within the factory walls.

and conveyance, making up his nominal £300 to no less than £2,676. Doubtless, everyone's local allowances had much increased in the lapse of fifty years, especially those of the Governor; still we may safely assume that even at the time of Mr. Polewheel's appointment, the Bengal Chaplain might live almost entirely on his allowances, without drawing on his covenanted income. But besides this, there is no reason to suppose but that he had full liberty and was even encouraged to augment his revenues by buying and selling goods on his own account—a right tenaciously claimed and exercised by all the Company's servants. His predecessor had even exercised this unclerical privilege in excess. It had been a complaint against Job Charnock that he had tried to hinder the usage—

. . . decrying and inveighing against private trading, though not only freely allowed but also encouraged by your Honours' Orders . . . and is the only honest way Your Honours' Servants have to advance their fortunes, which the denyall of would put them upon trading in other names, to the loss of your customes or worser courses.*

Nothing has yet come to light respecting Polewheel's Bengal career. He was not the first Company's Chaplain of the name, for a curious certificate has been preserved, signed by another *Isaac Polewheel*, Chaplain of Bombay,† on the 1st of January 1689, and the *Rev. Peachie Watson* his colleague, and thirty-one other persons testifying respecting the Worshipful Henry Gary, Judge of the Island, that they have 'great reasone to think him to be a good Protestant according to the Church of England;' several reasons being given, and amongst them, 'especially his communicating with most of us [in] the Holy Eucharist.'‡

Polewheel would have arrived at Sutanuti in stirring times. The Hindu Rajas westward of the River had rebelled against the Imperial Power, and the Nawab of Bengal called upon the English, Dutch, and French factories to defend themselves as best they could. The English at once saw their opportunity: the enclosure which Sir John Goldsborough had traced out for a factory they at once began to convert into a fortress of brick, within which they might concentrate their warehouses, offices, and dwellings. This fortified factory, having a river face of 630 feet and an eastern face of the same, with a breadth of 300 on the North and 390 on the South, was begun in 1696, and

* Letter Fort St. George to Court, 2nd November 1691, H. D. ii, 88.

† Appointed March 12, 1679.

‡ O. C. 4713. H. D. ii, 328.

completed in three years, when it was named *Fort William* in honour of the King. It stood south of Sutanuti and of Calcutta Bazar, by the River's edge, and a little north of the Burying ground in 'Dhee' Calcutta, where so many of the Company's servants, including a Commissary-General of India and an Agent of the Factory, had already been laid to rest. The whole structure has long disappeared and given place to the existing Fort William, but its site is remembered and pointed out to all visitors to Calcutta in connexion with that of the 'Black Hole Prison' which once existed within its south-eastern angle.

If Mr. Polewheel actually officiated as Chaplain of the new fortified factory [no advice of his departure for Bengal is found in the Court's letters], he certainly could not have done so for more than a few months; for in a list of the Bengal Officials of 30th November 1697 no Chaplain's name is given, and* in January of 169 $\frac{7}{8}$ the Court in Leadenhall Street again proceeded to fill up the chaplaincy as being vacant, and in its Bengal letter of 26th January announced the appointment as Chaplain there of the *Rev. John Powell* on the usual allowances.

We hope he will be very serviceable and meet with due encouragement from you in his labours for promoting the Christian Religion and keeping up the work of God among you.†

In the Court Book, No. 36, under date of 2nd February occurs this minute:—

Resolved that *Mr. John Powell*, lately entertained as the Company's Chaplain for India, be appointed to reside at the Bay.

However, the appointment was cancelled on the 25th following, Mr. Powell being found unfit for the cure. This rescinding order is interesting, for the following rider, which has continued to the present day as a rule in the appointment of Indian Chaplains, whether of the Company or the Queen—a rule which, though enjoined by Royal Command in 1685, had been for some years neglected:—

Resolved that for the future when any Chaplain shall be tendered to the Company's service they be directed to attend upon my Lord Bishop of London for his approbation.

Since the union of the old and new Companies to the present time, the Archbishop of Canterbury has been associated with the Bishop of London in this supervision of appointments.

* R. R. a 4. [India Office] last page.

† B. G. Bk. x, p. 28.

CHAPTER IV.

1698 to 1707.

THE year 1698 was an eventful one in the history of East Indian Trade. The 'Interlopers,' or independent traders, who had so long and so successfully defied the Company's charters by competition in commerce, and, as it was frequently asserted, the laws of civilization by piracy on the high seas,* had promoted a new trading Company with £2,000,000 capital. This Company had outbidden the old Company with King William and obtained from his Majesty on the 5th of September Letters Patent securing to it equal trading rights with the old Company until Michaelmas 1701, when the old charters expired, and after that date an absolute monopoly of Royal protection in India. In fact, the new or 'English' East India Company was designated by the King as the absolute supersessor of the old or 'London' Company, as it now began to be called.

This year Mr. Charles Eyre, the Bengal Agent, returned home, leaving Mr. John Beard (Junior) as his successor. On his arrival in London, the excitement caused by the foundation of the rival Company must have been at its height. Two Courts of committees were sitting in London—the one endeavouring *by every means* to save the vast vested interests acquired by a century of enterprise; the other planning to carry into immediate execution the counter-privileges secured to it by the new charter. Politics entered into the competition. The Tory party supported the old, and the Whigs the new Company.

One section of this new charter is of importance in its bearing upon the future of English Christianity in India; it is to the following effect:—

(1) The Company must maintain one Minister in every garrison or superior factory which the same Company shall have in the East Indies.

(2) And shall also in such garrison and factories respectively provide or set apart a decent and convenient place for Divine Service only.

(3) And shall also take a Chaplain on board every ship which shall be sent by the same Company to the East Indies, or the other parts within the limits aforesaid, which shall be of the burden of 500 tons or upwards for such voyages.

(4) The salary of which Chaplain shall commence from such time that such ships shall depart from England.

* Cf. H. D. ii, 138.

(5) And moreover that no such Minister shall be sent by the said Company to the East Indies or other parts within the limits aforesaid until he shall have been first approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London for the time being.

(6) All which said Ministers so to be sent shall be entertained from time to time with all due respect.

(7) All Ministers within a year of their arrival shall learn the Portuguese language.

(8) And shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to enable them to instruct the Gentons [alias *Gentoos*] that shall be servants or slaves of the said Company or of their agents in the Protestant Religion.

(9) And that in case of the death of any of the said Ministers residing in the East Indies or other parts within the limits aforesaid, the place of such Chaplains so dying shall be supplied by one of the Chaplains out of the said ships that shall arrive at or near the place when such Minister shall happen to die.

On the 29th of November 1698, the Court of the new Company resolved to request the Archbishop to draw up and approve prayers to be used in its establishments; and on the 15th of December occurs the following minute :—

The Titles were read of three prayers for this Company—one to be used at home, another in their factories abroad, and a third to be used on board their ships, approved by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Bishop of London. Ordered that 1,000 of the said 3 prayers be printed and that Mr. Ovington supervise the press.*

Between the 17th of October and the close of the year 1698 the Court of the new Company appointed four Chaplains for Indian service. Of these one, *Benjamin Edwards*, strongly recommended for good temper, was first designated for the Bay (Hooghly), but afterwards sent to Surat. Another, *Thomas Clark*, was chosen on the recommendation of the Bishop of London. He was sworn on December 6th, appointed to the Bay immediately afterwards, and took his leave of the Court on the 6th January 1698.

On the 14th of December, at the request of this Mr. Clark, the Court discussed the question of the precedence to be assigned to its Chaplains in India, and decided that they should rank next below the members of the factory councils and above all others.

Early in the following year the first fleet of the new Company sailed for India. It carried with it three Presidents, who were each invested with the additional title of King's Consul for the English

* See Appendix A.

Nation, for the three new chief factories, that in Bengal being; of course, Hooghly. Its President and Consul was Edward Littleton, a dismissed Merchant of the old Company and a director of the new. This man the King had knighted on the 15th of January a few weeks before his departure for Bengal on the *Antelope*, which sailed from the Downs on Thursday, 26th January 1693.*

Mr. Clark must have been among the new President's fellow-passengers. The *Antelope* anchored in the Balasore Roads on Monday, the 24th of July, and Sir Edward and his party proceeded by pinnace to Hooghly. As he passed the now completed Fort William he saw to his extreme indignation that the Union Jack, which floated over it, was not lowered in acknowledgment of his royal Commission as Consul. The mortality among the members of the *Antelope's* expedition was very great, no less than fifteen of the new Company's officials dying on board of her or at Hooghly before the year ended. Among the latter was the Chaplain,† who could not have survived his landing two months. Now, according to the Charter, Mr. Clark's place should have been taken by the Chaplain of the next Company's ship anchoring in the port. It happened that the next ship was the *De Grave*, Captain William Young. But her Chaplain, *Rowland Harwood*, escaped from the ship shortly after her arrival, and took refuge at Fort William. Why he did so cannot be explained. We have only Sir Edward Littleton's scurrilous account of the matter‡ which must be read in the light of the latter's own character and bearing in mind that his style of diction was habitually inflated. It is not perhaps hard, however, to read between the lines and in such expressions as—

Your Honours' Chaplain [was] approved by the Bishop of London, as he saith, and whom he esteems his great friend and patron and very good Lord . . . he is entered into the enemies' camp and there remains . . . a most bitter enemy to King William and the present Government . . . one [of his 'emoralities or doctrines'] is, that he is exempt from secular power.

—to discover that poor Rowland Harwood was after all nothing worse than a High Church Tory who, like St. John from Cerinthus, had fled from heretical company. John Pitt, 'His Majesty's Minister and Consul for the English Nation in general on the whole coast of

* The log or journal of this voyage, at the India Office, narrates the discovery in April of a plot among the sailors "to sease the ship and rune away with her" and the punishment inflicted upon 15 of the conspirators.

† H. D. ii, 206 and O. C. 7206, para. 74, not given in H. D.

‡ H. D. ii, page 210.

Coromandell,' and his retinue of officials* had been his congregation on board the *De Grave* for five and a half months, and from them he must have learnt what Whiggery was and what manner of men the new Company's servants were.† Thus, on hearing of the death of Mr. Clark, the prospect of being required to pass the rest of his days at Sir Edward Littleton's factory must have fairly daunted him—so, forfeiting his pay for the voyage, £1-10 a month,‡ he sought a welcome from Agent and Governor Beard at Fort William, where there was no clergyman then resident.§

Very likely he was welcomed at Fort William, but for secular reasons, for he must have become acquainted with the plans and personnel of the rival Company. At any rate, he was not accepted as Chaplain, for his name does not occur in the pay-sheets of the factory.

In Sir Edward Littleton's letter just quoted—a document of amazing length—in paras. 32 and 33, the writer says that he has accorded to the Chaplain the precedence required by the order of the Court, but he demurs at having to do so. In para. 75 he says that they are getting on very well at Hooghly without a clergyman.

Our Minister being dead his place is supplied the best we can, having the same prayers and as good sermons, being of those your Honours supplied as with in the small library you sent, when your Honours shall please to supply us with one again we pray such care may be taken we may not have such an one as came in the *DeGrave*, but one of good life and conversation, and temper too, that is a divine and can really preach.||

On the 6th of June 1700, some ten months after Harwood had sought an asylum at Fort William, the C. S. *Fame*, Captain Browne, arrived there.¶ She had on board the late Agent Eyre, whom a year's residence in England had restored to health, and upon whom the King, on his offering to resume his service under the old Company in the Bay of Bengal, thus superseding Board, had on the 17th of December 1699, conferred the honour of knighthood. Sir Charles had with him 'a trainee of several persons'*** and among them the

* *Vide* Log of the *De Grave*, India Office.

† See Correspondence in H. D. iii, pp. 40—49.

‡ See Pay Ledger of the *De Grave*, India Office.

§ No Chaplain's name occurs in the lists of the old Company's Bengal Servants dated at Sutanuti November 1698 and 1699. *R. R. a 5. (India Office)*.

|| O. C. 7236, Hooghly, 16th November 1700. Not given in H. D.

¶ In Sir E. Littleton's letter of this month she is said to have arrived on the 27th May, but he probably means, at Balasore Road. The Revd. B. Adams' service is dated 6th June, which must be the date of the *Fame's* anchoring at Fort William.

*** H. D. ii, 209.

Rev. Benjamin Adams, M.A., the new Chaplain under the old company for the Bay. The *Fame* had stopped four days at Madras, where Adams would have had the advantage of conference with the Rev. George Lewis and the Rev. James Wendy, Chaplains there.

Benjamin Adams was a graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge, where his matriculation is thus recorded—

Apr. 4. 1692. Benjaminus Adams filius Gulielmi de Hardwick prope Pontefract* annos natus 16 e *Schola privata* in Pontefract, admissus est Sizator sub Tutore Mro. Millington.

He took his B.A. degree in 1695, and M.A. in 1699. While still a Deacon, and in his 24th year, he offered himself to the old or 'London' East India Company for service abroad.

He was elected Chaplain for the Bay on the 22nd November 1699, on the recommendation of Mr. William Hewer, a member of the Court and friend of the famous Mr. Pepys, and of Mr. Charles Eyre, who had resigned the Agency at the Bay the previous year, after twenty-three years' residence in Bengal, and was then recruiting his health in England. Mr. Eyre's recommendation, implying as it did a choice of him as a neighbour and pastor during a renewed Bengal service, suggests a friendship which it is regrettable not to be able to trace. The minute of appointment is as follows:—

Resolved that two Chaplains be entertained to serve the Company in India, one for the Bay of Bengall and the other for Fort St. David's. The Court this day receiving a satisfactory character from William Hewer Esq., and Mr. Charles Eyre, late Agent in the Bay, of the learning, ministeriall abilities and pious conversation of *Mr. Benjamin Adams, Master of Arts* were now pleased to elect him by the Ballott to be their Chaplain in the said Bay of Bengall in the East Indies at the salary of fifty pounds a year and also a gratuity of fifty pounds per annum, if he shall be found to deserve the same.†

Four days later, on 'Stir-up Sunday' (November 26th), he was ordained Priest, in the Chapel of Fulham Palace, by the Bishop of London.

And in the Court's letter to Bengal of the following 20th December his departure—the *Fame* must have sailed about Christmas or New-Year—is thus announced:—

With our President Eyre, *Mr. Benjamin Adams* now takes his Passage‡ as our Chaplain at the usuall allowance of fifty pounds per annum Salary and fifty pounds Gratuity; he is recommended to us for a sober virtuous, learned man, and we hope will fully answer his character.

* See his Will, page 51.

† C. B. 38, November 22nd, 1699.

‡ Adams' name is, however, omitted in the list of passengers by the *Fame*.

In a list of the Court's drafts on the President and Council of Bengal of the same date sent out by the *Fame* is

One dated the 10th of December 1699 for four hundred ounces and a half of silver in pieces of eight payable thirty dayes after the arrivall of the Ship *Fame* in the Bay of Bengal to Mr. Bonja. Adams or order.

Two others in favour of Sir Charles Eyre were for Rs. 30,000 at 60 days and Rs. 40,000 at 90 days after sight—sums representing doubtless their own remittances. The form in which Adams was to be repaid is curious: the rest of the list specifies only drafts payable in rupees.

Evidently the late Agent at Calcutta had been impressing upon good Mr. Hewer that the colony he had just quitted lacked, besides the ministrations of clergy, the civilizing influences of literature. They had a small collection of books, but they were decaying and mostly out of date. For the letter continues—

He brings with him a very handsome collection of modern Books as an addition to the Library, presented by a worthy Gentleman, William Hewer, Esqr., a Member of our Court of Committees. They are put inside a Press with Catalogue fixed to the inside Door, copy of which is enclosed,* all of them are lettered on the back, and have an account of the Gift on the outside cover of each Book; take great care of their good usage and preservation.†

After seven months' government, Adam's friend and patron, Sir Charles Eyre, resigned his offices again into the hands of young Mr. Beard, and returned home for good. The departure of this powerful supporter must have been a painful blow to the newly-ordained Priest,—the "discouragement," "disadvantage," and "ill-treatment on all hands"—which he deplores in a letter to the Bishop of London or the S. P. C. K., presently to be quoted, must have direct reference to his own experience in that disorderly colony within the walls of the new Fort William. He seems to have been a man of zeal and energy, and honourably earned his persecution.

"The abrupt return of Sir Charles, it may be remarked, naturally vexed the Court not a little. He complains in a letter that "a strange distemper [has] seiz'd me ever since I left England this present Indisposition has incapacitated me." Sir Henry Yule proves conclusively that the distemper was nothing less than 'love sickness'!‡—He had been left a widower by the death of Job Charnock's

* The catalogue was forwarded by the *Howland*. It has not been found

† B. G. Bk. x. p. 252, H. D. ii, 318.

‡ Cf. H. D. ii, 136.

eldest daughter, Mary, three years before. He married a second wife immediately upon his return to England. A sister-in-law of Sir Charles's died in the month of his departure (January 1701), Job's youngest daughter, Catherine—in her nineteenth year. She had married Jonathan White, a member of the Council, and died, alas!* in childbirth. Her epitaph is in one of the black *charnockite* slabs in the Charnock mausoleum in St. John's churchyard.†

The letter already referred to was written by Adams not later than 1702. An extract from it was sent to the Court in the hope, doubtless, that some steps might be taken to redress the scandalous state of affairs which it discloses. The extract is numbered at the India Office, O. C. 7526, and is given in full by Sir Henry Yule.‡

The Missionary Clergy abroad live under great discouragement and disadvantage with regard to the ease and successful discharge of their important office. For, to say nothing of the ill treatment they meet with on all hands, resulting sometimes from the opposition of their Chiefs,§ who have no other notion of Chaplains, but that they are the Company's servants, sent abroad to act for, under, and by them, upon all occasions; and sometimes from the perverseness and refractoriness of others; || 'tis observable, that it is not in their power to act but by Legal Process upon any emergent occasion, when Instances of Notorious Wickedness present themselves; and because that can't conveniently be had at so great a distance,¶ hence it comes to pass, that they must suffer silently, being incapacitated to right themselves upon any Injury or Indignity offer'd or, (which is much worse) to vindicate the Honour of our Holy Religion and Lawes from the encroachments of Libertinism and Prophaneness.

This every body knows, and that knowledge is constant ground for licentiousness and ill manners, to those especially whose dissoluteness prompts them to level both Persons and Things, when that may serve to the gratifying of their own extravagant and wild Humour and Interest.

Were the Injuries and Indignities small and trivial, and such as in time by a competent care and prudence might either be avoided or redrest, a man would choose to bear them with patience, rather than give himself the trouble of representing them to superiors. But notorious crimes had need be notoriously represented, or the Infection would grow too strong and Epidemical.

* The second daughter of Job, *Elizabeth*, survived in Calcutta till August 1753. She was the widow of William Bowridge, Junior Merchant, who was buried on 16th April 1724.

† See pages 11 and 28.

‡ H. D. ii, 319.

§ The Council seem to have sent an excellent report home concerning him nevertheless. Upon which the Court ordered his gratuity as well as his salary to be paid. (See B. G. Bk. x, p. 543, London, 5th March 1704.)

|| Probably they despised their zealous young Chaplain's inexperience.

¶ i.e., from Fort St. George, Madras.

Here the writer gives examples of certain of the gross scandals of the time, and then continues:—

I might instance in several things of this Nature which occur daily to the great Scandal of our Christian Profession among other Europeans, not to mention how easily the more strict and reserv'd among the Heathens may reproach us in that particular Enormity, which I have been speaking of.

It is interesting to notice that Adams here speaks of himself and his fellow Chaplains in India as 'The Missionary Clergy.'* Plainly, an exclusive cure among his own countrymen was not at all his view of his responsibilities. The Company had from the first appointment of its Chaplains kept the evangelistic idea in view. Their original circular addressed to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, dated 13th February 1653,† in which applications for the appointments were invited, opens thus:—'The East India Company have resolved to endeavour the advance and spreading of the gospel in India.' In 1670, on the 6th of July, the Court appointed one of its Chaplains at Bombay to undertake this enterprize as a special duty, in a resolution beginning:—

The Court being desirous that the Portuguezes residing in the Island of Bombay may be instructed in the Protestant Religion, and that the true worship of God may be taught and promoted among them.‡

In this passage it is only conversions from Roman Catholicism that are aimed at. The like is the main object of the following passage from the Court's letter to Fort St. George of 18th February, 1697: (1) Urging the building of a Church for the exclusive benefit of Anglicised Portuguese at Madras; (2) Promising to send out an edition of the Book of Common Prayer in the Indo-Portuguese dialect; (3) Undertaking to provide, if possible, a Priest and a Deacon versed in the language, to minister in the Portuguese congregation.

We would likewise desire our now President Mr. Yale whom God hath blessed with so great an Estate in our Service, to set on foot another generous charitable work, before he leaves India, that is, the building of Church for the Protestant black people and Portuguez and the Slaves which serve them, who have now no place to hear the word of God preached in a language they understand, and therefore are necessitated to go to the Popish Churches. Whereas if they had God's Word preached to them in the Portuguez language, according to the Protestant Doctrine, and the Prayers of the

* The Expression 'Missionary Chaplain' is found as late as 1835 to designate clergyman in the Straits Settlements—(*Government of Bengal Proceedings*).

† See page 1.

‡ H. D. ii, 355.

*Church of England, they would as readily frequent the Protestant Church as the Popish Chappells. In order hereunto we shall got our Common Prayers, and other Offices of our Church translated into the Portuguez tongue, and send you some written Copies thereof, after which, when your church is built, and, you have Corrected the Copyes which we send you in the Portuguez Dialect of India, and returned one Copy to us with the Amendments, we will cause it to be printed here and return you diverse printed Copies thereof, and not only so, but we will send you what benevolence we can collect here for the ornament of the Church intended. In the meantime we are now inquiring after some able Minister that can preach in the Portugall tongue, and also a Domine as the Dutch call them, which in the style of our Church is a Deacon, that can read our Prayers in Portugueez. These two officers we hope to send you by our ships that depart next winter; which we fear will be the soonest we can despatch any of our great ships to you.**

Unfortunately, regarding the carrying out of the first and the last of these three projects, no evidence comes to light. After some years delay, however, they sent out the Prayer Books. On 20th February 1695 [?] the Court wrote to Fort St. George:—

We have caused the Liturgy of the Church of England with the Psalms of David to be translated into the Portugueez language for the use and benefit of the Portuguese Inhabitants under our government in India, which we printed at Oxford.† and herewith you will receive one hundred of them which we hope our Lieutenant General and Council will give such Direction to Mr. Lewes, that they may be made use of to answer to that general and extensive Charity which first moved us to this undertaking at our single charge, that so the Gospell and the Protestant Religion may be made known to those poor and Ignorant natives in their own Language; to the Honour of God and the glory of our Church.‡

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had, as we have already noticed, approved a form of prayer§ to be used in all the Factories abroad of the new East India Company. This prayer ends thus:—

That we, adorning the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour in all things, these Indian Nations among whom we dwell, beholding our good works, may

* H. D. ii, 119.

† “*O Livro da Oração Commum e Administração dos Sacramentos e outros Ritos, de Ceremonias da Igreja conforme o Uso da Igreja de Inglaterra juntamente com o Salterio ou Salmos de David. Oxford, da estampa do Teatro. Anno de Christo 1695.*” Small folio. It contains the approved prayer for the “*Illustrissima Companhia*” [Priest is mostly ‘cure,’ but in the Holy Communion and Public Baptism service it is ‘sacordote,’ as also in parts of the Marriage service.]

‡ H. D. ii, 355.

§ It is dated 29th December 1698: see Appendix A.

be won over thereby to love our most holy religion, and glorify Thee our Father which art in Heaven.*

We thus gain a fairly satisfactory idea of what was in Adams's mind, when he described the Indian Chaplains as *Missionary Clergy*. Their duty, after ministering in spiritual things to the English, was to try and induce the Portuguese half-castes to conform to the Church of England, and after that to propagate the Gospel, if possible, among the natives, who had come into the service or under the influence of the Company. We may safely infer that he had with him a supply of the Portuguese prayer-books, and that he made all haste to acquire that language for evangelistic purposes.

The year 1702 opened with alarming menaces on the part of the Government of the Emperor Aurangzeb against the English in Bengal. In February the Company's Factories at Patna and Rajmehal were seized, and its servants imprisoned. In March the Faujdar of Hooghly proceeded to attack Fort William. The Governor, however, prepared himself in a gallant manner for defence. He mounted guns upon the ramparts of the new Fort, and increased the effective garrison to 120 men, with the result that the Faujdar determined not to attempt the siege.†

This same year the rival East India Companies were united by Queen Anne's 'Tripartite Indenture'—dated July 22nd. The separate accounts of the old Company at Fort William and the new at Hooghly were ordered to be made up; and a third Joint Council was ordered to be found at Calcutta, to be presided over by a Member of Council of the old Company and a Member of Council of the new, on alternate weeks. Of this arrangement the Governor of Fort St. George wrote home on the 7th December 1704:—'For the Rotation Government in Bengal 'tis become the ridicule of all India both Europeans and Natives.'‡

Among the officials of the two Companies taken over into the pay of the United Company was Chaplain Adams, his service being dated 25th January 1704.§ He was then a widower, his wife Margaret having died on the 20th of August of the previous year. Two small slabs exist in St. John's Churchyard inscribed to her memory, having

* *Asiatic Journal*, vol. V, p. 251. The whole prayer is given in Appendix A.

† H. D. ii, 105–7.

‡ Several interesting articles on the Calcutta Factory at this period appeared in the *Calcutta Englishman* during October 1833.

§ See B. P. C. i. sub November 1704.

formed originally the ends of a small masonry tomb. The epitaphs are :—

IN PIAM MEMORIAM
MARGARITÆ ADAMS,
Revdi. Domni. Benjaminis Adams
ecclesiæ Xstl. in Bengala Pastoris
dilectæ olim conjugis.
Obiit decimo 3to Calendarum
Septembris Anno Domini 1703.

Mors janua vitæ.
Piorum nitamur exemplis,
Doctorumque sermonibus.
Perangusta enim est via
quæ ad vitam ducit et
pauci qui inveniunt.
Mat. 7. 17.

One effect of the establishment of the Rotation Government at Fort William was probably to throw the religious discipline of the old Company, which, it must be presumed, Adams had done his best to establish, into disregard. The former Company's Councils had merely authority now to wind up their respective accounts; and the United Company's Council was too disunited to enforce what might be distasteful to the irreligious. It was so at Fort St. George, and one can hardly presume that matters were more orderly at Fort William. The Head of the elder presidency writes under date of September 8th, 1705, to Adam's friend, Mr. William Hewer :—

Here was an old custome, and I thinke a very good one too, which I industriously observ'd, but since the Union it has dwindl'd, which was that the Council every Sunday morning mett, and accompani'd the Governor to Church Which some of late have neglected, upon which as my duty I have putt 'em in mind of itt in consultation, when some have answer'd that thô they allowed the custome to bee good, yett they thought the Governor had not a power to injoyne 'om to it; by this you may guess the rest.

However, in 1704 Adams set afoot a vigorous project for the building of a Presidency Church, Bengal being by this time independent of Madras; an enterprize which must have been seriously hindered in 1705, by the occurrence of an unusually malarious season which carried off many of the Company's servants.*

But he had now an active coadjutor in the person of the *Revd. William Anderson*, Chaplain of the English Company's factory at Hooghly.† That factory had been abandoned, and all the establishment transferred to Calcutta, where Sir Edward Littleton survived till 24th October 1707, in well-merited disgrace.‡

Adams himself, now assisted by Anderson, collected funds not only from residents, but from the sailors who frequented the port.

* O. C. 8407. H. D. ii, 216.

† O. C. 56-7627.

‡ Deposed by order of the Court, 10th January 1707.

The Church, says Captain Hamilton in his *New Account of the East Indies*, was—

Built by the pious charity of Merchants residing there and the Christian benevolence of seafaring men, whose affairs call them to trade there.

On the 11th of September 1704 the two chaplains asked the Council for help towards their project in the following letter:—Its tone shows plainly that the clergy had lived down the popular antagonism and surmounted the discouragements so bitterly complained of in Adam's letter of two years before—

To the Hon'ble the Council for all affairs of the Right Hon'ble United Company in Bengal.

GENTLEMEN,—How much the Christian religion suffers . . . for want of a place set apart for the public worship of God, we can none of us be ignorant; and if we have any concern at all for the honour of God or any zeal for the advancement of the Christian religion in the world, we cannot but lament the great disadvantages which we do at present labour under from thence. It was a deep sense of these things that induced us to set on foot a subscription towards the building of a church, which, though it might at first look like a design too big for us, yet we have already succeeded in beyond our hopes. Gentlemen, the very good encouragement you have been pleased to give us in it has laid us under the obligation of returning you our hearty thanks for it, and we now do it as becomes us in the station we are in. The commanders of ships have been very generous upon this occasion; and all other gentlemen, whether servants to the Rt. Hon'ble Company, or other inhabitants of the place, have contributed freely and cheerfully to the work. Gentlemen, the design is apparently noble and worthy of all the encouragement that can be given it. 'Tis for the service and credit of the English Company trading to those parts. 'Tis for the honour of the English nation, and above all, 'tis for the honour of that religion, which we are all bound to maintain, and which, especially considering where we are, we can never be too zealously concerned for. But because the work we are going about ought to bear some proportion to the end for which it is designed, and consequently cannot be accomplished at a small charge, therefore we hope, gentlemen, you will think it reasonable to make some considerable addition to what we have hitherto collected from private hands, on account of the Hon. Company, who as they are likely to reap the most lasting benefit from the undertaking, so they cannot be but abundantly satisfied with what you shall think fit to do in it. The work we are undertaking has been neglected too long already; we intend, therefore, to put it off no longer, but set about it as soon as possible in order to which we desire, gentlemen, you will assign us a spot of ground which may be proper to our purpose, and that we suppose will be agreed on all hands to be as near the Factory as it conveniently may.

We are, gentlemen, your most affectionate friends and humble servants.

WILLIAM ANDERSON.
BENJAMIN ADAMS.*

* B. P., C. 1704, September 11.

In response to this appeal, the Council made a grant of Rs. 1,000 to the proposed church, and ordered "that a sufficient piece of ground to build it on, be appointed in the Broad Street, next or pretty near to Captain Wallis' house, between that and Mr. Soame's, and that a broad way be left on the side next the river, full sixty foot broad clear from the church."* This site, owing to popular opposition, was shortly afterwards changed for one closer to the fort.

There is only one other mention of church matters in the consultation book of 1704.† On the 9th October, Adams complains to the Council of what he would have called opposition from his chief. Mr. Hedges,‡ he says, took too much upon himself in altering the hour of morning prayer in the factory. The Council answer that it was not Mr. Hedges' doing, but that they had all agreed to it. They wished that morning prayer in the factory might be at eight and not at ten, as the latter hour interfered with business. A few days later (October 27th), Mr. Adams obtained leave to proceed to Madras for the benefit of his health, and he took with him a letter from the Bengal Council to help him to raise money there for the church in Calcutta. He was in Madras in June 1705, for his name occurs in the registers as officiating at two weddings there in that month.

The collection went steadily on until Wednesday, the 18th of September 1706, when, to judge by the letter presently to follow, Adams assembled a number of gentlemen in conference, who took upon themselves the collecting work, and became, as it would seem, the building Committee. The next day he wrote to the Council of the Fort, resigning his Chaplaincy in ten days time. The letter is couched in somewhat mysterious terms:—

To the Hon'ble Council of Managers.

Sirs,—This is to acquaint you that I intend to officiate among you no longer than Michaelmas, so in the interim shall give Mr. Anderson, warning which yet I bind myself hitherto not to divulge that I might gather what money I could for the Church before I left you, for I found Brother Anderson had not reputation enough among gent. to obtain their subscription. But now since matters are otherwise determined I am lett loose from restraint, being free from those obligations I was under before to raise money. And I am glad for your sakes and the Church that the result of yesterday's Conference was so fortunate, for absolutely speaking though it was more proper in itself and withal more profitable for the Church that the Ministers should gather the contributions, yett at this juncture it were more advisable for the above reason that the election

* B. P. C. 1704, November 6.

† See Early Annals of the English in Bengal, vol. I, by C. R. Wilson.

‡ Robert Hedges, died Governor of Fort William, Dec. 28, 1718.

should proceed upon indifferent Trustees. And I wish with all my heart they may collect more money than I did last year, which will enable them to do what is useful if not ornamental to the Church; and that in my corner of the world would be acceptable news to Yr. friend and Servt.—B. ADAMS.

Fort Wm., 7 bre 19, 1706.*

Adams's resignation was wholly unexpected both in Bengal and by his relations at home; so much so, that on December the 23rd of the same year his brother in England, John Adams, obtained the Court's leave to pay for a passage to Bengal, on one of the Company's ships, for his son William, whom he wished to place under the care of the boy's uncle Benjamin, the Chaplain there.

Though he resigned from Michaelmas, Adams did not at once quit Bengal. Perhaps he travelled for a couple of months. Anyhow he was in Calcutta, and on the eve of sailing for England on the 7th of December, when he made his will as follows:—

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I *Benjamin Adams* of Calcutta in the Province of Bengal, clerk, being bound upon a voyage for England and knowing the uncertainty of this present life; Doe take this opportunity, in perfect health (thanks be to God for the same) to make my last will and testament, in manner and form following: (that is to say). *First* I recommend my soule and body into the Hands of Almighty God, endeavouring by His Blessing to grow up in grace here and hoping in and through the merits of Christ my Blessed Saviour to be a partaker with the Saints in glory hereafter. As to what worldly goods it has pleased God to bless me with, my mind and pleasure is that they be disposed of as follows.

Imprimis I give and bequeath in legacy to my honoured and well beloved mother *Elizabeth Adams*† of Pontefract in Yorkshire all my linen and wearing apparell, and in case of her death (which God forbid) to my loving sister *Elizabeth Adams*. *Item* I give and bequeath in legacy to my loving brother *John Adams* four hundred Rupees current of Bengal or, which is all one, fifty pounds sterling in England. As to the remaining part of my estate I divide it equally between my two brothers *Joseph* and *Samuel Adams* and in case of each other's death (which God forbid) the survivor to possess it wholly to himself. And I further will and appoint my good friends *Ralph Sheldon*‡ and *William Soame* in Bengal my lawful trustees in India in case of my death homeward bound to take care, employ and improve according to my letter of attorney delivered to them what summes of money or goodes I shall leave behind me in India until they receive other orders from my brother *John Adams* at the Unicorn in Leadenhall Street, whom I appoint my sole executor of this my last will and testament, hoping in the first place he will see all my bills, bonds, debts of

* B. P. C. under date.

† Buried in the then ruined Church of All Saints' Pontefract, Dec. 11th, 1713.

‡ Then President of the Council for the separate affairs of the Old Company in Bengal: *illustris Sheldoniani stemati laud indigna proles*. (Epitaph in St. John's Churchyard Ap. 26, 1709.)

obligations paid and soe revoking all other wills by me formerly made. In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand and seale in Calcutta this seventh day of December one thousand seven hundred and six.—BENJN. ADAMS.

“Signed, sealed, published and delivered where no stamped paper is to be had in the presence of JOHN CALVERT. PLP. RICHARDSON. GEO. HULSEY.”

The seal is a signet in the Persian character reading:—

+ لنکلیز آدمسی بنیامین

‘+ Benjamin Adams, an Englishman.’

He embarked on the *C. S. Frederick*, which cleared from Calcutta on January 1st, 1708.*

It will be remarked that Adams was leaving India a childless widower. The original will, however, is endorsed:—

Testator died in the Merchant ship *Frederick* in the month of June 1707 a bachelor.

He was thus almost at the end of his homeward voyage. On the 1st March 1707-8, probate of the will was granted to his brother John, the executor.† He had not completed the 32nd year of his age.

Apparently he brought home in the *Frederick*, in the form of merchandize, what money he possessed; for the former of the two following minutes must relate to its realization, and the latter to the produce of what his Trustees in Calcutta remitted to his executor:—

2nd July 1708.—Ordered, a warrant to be made out to Benjamin Adams in full balance of his account for private trade by the *Frederick* £ 28-16-8, and 31st March 1710 Benjamin Adams £ 288-10-10 for Private Trade.‡

* Vide Imperfect Log of the *C. S. Frederick* at the India Office.

† Barnett, 52, in *Probate Registry London*.

‡ Minutes of the *United Company*.

CHAPTER V.

1707 to 1717.

WILLIAM-OWEN Anderson, to give the late Hooghly Chaplain and Adams' colleague his full baptismal name, was born at Mortlake in Surrey in February or March of 1679, where his father Robert Anderson was 'curate.' His mother's name was 'Elnor.*' The Parish Register records three elder sisters and a brother. On the 14th of October 1686, in his 17th year, he was admitted as a Sizar of St. John's College, Cambridge. The matriculation book describes him as

Domi literis institutus, sub patris ferula,—professione clerici.

In 1690, his 21st year, he graduated B.A.

He was, therefore, thirty-six years old when in January 1706 he succeeded Adams as Chaplain of Fort William on the latter's embarkation for England. No particulars as to his original appointment to Hooghly have as yet come to light.

Anderson may have been apprehensive that the Directors of the United Company might decline to confirm his appointment as their Chaplain in Bengal; for one of his earliest acts was to transmit to them in print† four of his sermons preached at Calcutta, with the following letter by way of an *apologia* :—

My much honoured friends,

The design of publishing these plain discourses, which I here make a humble present of to your Honours, is to show you how sincerely desirous I am of serving your interest abroad, by promoting the Peace and Order of the Society which I have the care of in the Ministry of the Gospel.

If I can in any measure contribute to the happy Settlement of this Place I shall exceedingly rejoice in it. So I hope my endeavours that way, in the faithful discharge of my office, will meet with a kind acceptance at your hands.

I am, your Honours, most Humble Servant,

W. ANDERSON.

The texts of the sermons are highly suggestive of the disorders of the factory which the peacher laboured to castigate. They are (i.) St. Matt. v. 44 *But I say unto you love your enemies.* (ii.) St. James iii. 16. *Where envying and strife is there is confusion and every*

* See the Parish Registers; also his Will on page 61.

† London 1708, Brit. Mus. 693, c. 1—k.

evil work. (iii.) Titus iii. 1. *Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers to obey Magistrates.* (iv.) Prov. xv. 10. *He that hateth reproof shall die.* The first two of these sermons are printed at the end of this volume.*

The factory disorders find a curious illustration in a gentle censure recorded by the council against their excellent chaplain, Adams. A member of Council had ordered one of the padre's servants to be imprisoned for beating a native factory official. Adams took up his servant's cause and so far defied law and order that he shut him up in his own house and refused to deliver him up to justice. The Council sent for the Chaplain and advised him to be of a 'more peaceable temper, and to be more civil and respectful to the Government for the future.' This was in April 1706: the previous month a ladies' quarrel is recorded, a factor's wife, so writes her husband, was deeply affronted because the surgeon's wife would insist in taking precedence of her in church,—it is not known in what part of the Factory divine service was then conducted,—and Sunday after Sunday would 'squat herself down' in the chair which the factor's lady should have graced. The angry husband went so far as to cast upon the Council all responsibility for 'any disturbance or unseemly conduct that may arise in church in consequence'—one would like to know whether Mrs. Factor ever did oust Mrs. Surgeon—but the minutes are silent as to the issue.

These, however, are but small squabbles; Mr. C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal* reveals at this time much deadlier strifes;—sailors quarrelling with landmen, and the Company's servants with the private traders; a ship's captain ready to fight with the president over a matter of salutes and an ex-president (Littleton) spending the last years of his life abusing his colleagues.

The Court approved Anderson's succession as Chaplain by its Bengal Letter of 17th April 1708, para. 60.†

Evidently, in the hands of the new Committee, the work of Church Building proceeded rapidly, in spite of another dreadful season of mortality,‡ for early in 1708 Anderson was able to report to the Bishop of London that the work was sufficiently advanced to warrant arrangements for its consecration being made by his Lordship. The Bishop, on the recommendation of Dr. Evans, Bishop of Bangor, late Bengal

* See Appendix B.

† No Letters from Bengal are preserved between this year 1708 and 1746: see B. G. Bk. xiii, p. 270.

‡ During which the sick among the Company's servants were shamefully neglected. [B. G. Bk. xiii, p. 64.]

Chaplain, appointed Anderson his Commissary for the purpose. The Commission was sent out to Anderson in a sealed box by order of the Court and conveyed by the *C. S. Montague*. The Court's order for the despatch of the box is dated 1708, April 24th.* This warrant Anderson laid before the Council on the 9th of May 1708, the Church being by that time quite complete, and obtained leave to execute it.† The document was worded as follows:—

HENRICUS permissione Divina Londonensis Episcopus, dilecto Nobis in Christo Willielmo Anderson Clerico, Artium Magistro, Salutem, Gratiam et Benedictionem. Cum ex fide digna relatione acceperimus Mercatores, Factores et Inhabitantes Britannos apud Arcem sive Propugnaculum Willielmi infra Regnum Bengalæ in Indijs orientalibus, pia et religiosa devotione ductos, quo melius Deo inserviant, Ecclesiam sive Capellam infra dictam Arcem sive Propugnaculum in Dei honorem et eorum usum religiosum, sumptibus suis proprijs noviter origi, ædificari et construi fecisse: tibi Willielmo Anderson de cujus fidelitate, morum integritate, literarum scientia, sana doctrina et diligentia plurimum confidimus, et in hac parte comittimus et mandamus quatenus tu vice, loco et nomine nostris, dictam ecclesiam sive Capellam sic, ut præfetur, erectam edificatam et constructam, omniaque et singula utensilia et necessaria ad eandem spectantia, necnon Cœmeterium (si quod sit) ab omni usu comuni et prophano separe, dictamque Ecclesiam sive Capellam ac utensilia et necessaria prædicta soli Divino Cultui et Divinorum Celebrationi juxta sacram Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Liturgiæ, quantum in te est et de jure possis, addices et consecres. Et quicquid in præmissis faceris Nos vel Successores nostros, cum id congrue possis, certifies. In cujus rei testimonium, sigillum nostrum episcopale præsentibus apponi fecimus. DATUM Londini . . . die mensis . . . anno Domini millimo septingentesimo octavo, nostræque translationis anno tricesimo tertio. H: LONDON:

Whatever may be thought of the validity in canon law of such a commission, it is interesting as being the earliest episcopal transaction of the Anglican Church in Bengal, and as demonstrating the ecclesiastical position of the English settlements here, as an out-parish‡ of the Diocese of London:—which neither the resolution of the Company to refer applicants for its Chaplaincies for the approval of the Bishop of London, nor the provisions to the same effect in the new company's Charter conclusively do.

The ceremony of consecration was performed on the 5th of June, which in 1709 was Sunday after Ascension Day. Doubtless the usual

* "Court Miscellanies" No. 2, India Office. For this and several other notes from the "Miscellanies" and "Consultations" I am indebted to the aid of Mr. C. R. Wilson.—*H. B. H.*

† B. P. C. under date.

‡ Calcutta itself in 1787 was not accounted a separate parish, but as being 'in a parish,' *St. John's Vestry Records*. D. 7, page 47.

ritual was observed, Anderson acting in the place of his diocesan.* The petition to consecrate, read and laid upon the Altar, ran as follows:—

WHEREAS in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and four, contributions were sett on foot for the building a Church in this place, which pious work has been so diligently prosecuted that a fair and beautiful Church is now built and finisht to the intent and purpose that it may be dedicated to the worship of God and that His Holy and Blessed Name may be there honoured and called upon: WEE whose namos are hereunto subscribed, being of councill for the Honourable United India Company, Do in the name of the Honourable Company aforesaid Give and Grant forever unto religious uses All that piece of ground whereon the said Church is built, being inclosed with a wall and containing [by measures in use in these parts] one Begah and two Cottahs of ground.

MOREOVER wee the said Councill in the name of the Honourable Company aforesaid, of ourselves and all others whatsoever who have contributed to this pious work, Do promise hereafter to refuse and renounce to putt this Church or any part of it to any profane or common use whatsoever, and Desire it may be dedicated and consecrated wholly and only to religious uses to the Glory of God and the Salvation of our souls. IN which respect wee do all humbly beseech God to accept of this our sincere intent and purpose: And do here desire and request of you Reverend Sir as God's Minister and Commissary of the Right Reverend HENRY, Lord Bishop of London in God's stead to accept of this our free-will offering and to decree this Church to be severed from all comon and profane uses and so to sever it: As also by the Word of God and Prayer and other spiritual and religious duties to dedicate and consecrate it to the Sacred Name of God and to His Service and Worship only: Promising that wee will ever hold it as an Holy Place even as God's House and use it accordingly. IN WITNESS wherof wee have herounlo sett our hands and the Honourable Company's Seal this fifth day of June 1709.

AERA. ADDAMS.

JOHN RUSSELL.

EDWD. PATTLE.

JOS. CHITTY.

WILLIAM BUGDEN.

JA. LOVE.

SAML. BLOUNT.

The ground thus solemnly given to God's service and secured to religious uses for ever was, nevertheless, after the church had lain many years in ruins, leased by Government in perpetuity to one

* For a curious account by the then Chaplain, the Rev. Richard Cobbe, of the opening of the new Church in Bombay nine years later (Christmas Day 171), see *A iatic Journal*, v. p. 339.

Thomas Lyons on the 18th of November, 1776;* and the octagon at the West End of Writers' Buildings now occupies the site of the Church.

The sentence of consecration, pronounced and signed by the Commissary after the reading of the Petition, is also preserved, and is as follows:—

In Dei Nomine, Amen.—Cum ostensum fuerit ex parte Mercatorum et Factorum Britannorum inhabitantium apud Arcem sive Propugnaculum Williolmi infra Regnum Bengalie in Indijs orientalibus, Reverendo admodum in Christo Patri ac Domino, Domino HENRICO permissione divina Londinensi Episcopo, quatenus Ecclesia quædam infra dictam Arcem sive Propugnaculum suis aliorumque sumptibus magnifice nuper constructa et ædificata fuerit. Ad quam iidem Mercatores, Factores alijque ibidem comorantes ad Divina peragenda accedere velint. Quare erogaverint et petierint a dicto Reverendo Patre ut dicta Ecclesia ejus Authoritate in Dei honorem et eorum usum dedicaretur et consecraretur. Nos igitur WILLIELMUS ANDERSON, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbyter, dicti Reverendi in Christo Patris ac Domini HENRICI permissione divina Londinensis Episcopi Commissarius, in hac parte legitime constitutus et autorizatus, hanc Ecclesiam, ut præfertur, ædificatam et constructam, Authoritate qua in hac parte fungimur ab omni usu comuni et profano in perpetuum separamus: et sic separatam esse pronuntiamus, decernimus et declaramus per præsentem. Eamque Ecclesiam soli Divino cultui et Divinorum celebrationi in Dei honorem dedicamus et consecramus. Et insuper eadem Authoritate volumus et ordinamus quod abhinc in perpetuum in hac Ecclesiæ Preces Publicæ juxta Sacram Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Liturgiam jugiter recitentur, Verbum Dei sincere tractetur et prædicetur, Sacramenta et Sacramentalia celebrentur, Matrimonia solemnizata sint, cæteraque omnia et singula fiant et peragantur quæ Jure Divino et canonibus et constitutionibus aut legibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ circa Dominum cultum ad Dei Gloriam et Ecclesiæ incrementum facienda fuerint. Et hanc denique Ecclesiam ad Honorem Dei (ut præmittitur) constructam, per Nomen SANCTÆ ANNÆ, Deo dedicamus offerimus et consecramus. Eamque Ecclesiam SANCTÆ ANNÆ denominamus et sic in perpetuum denominandam fore volumus per præsentem. In cujus rei testimonium manum et sigillum nostrum apposuimus quinto die mensis Junij, anno millimo septingentesimo nono.—WILLIELMUS ANDERSON.

There can be little doubt but that the choice of the Mother of the Blessed Virgin as the Patron Saint of the new Church had a complimentary reference to the reigning Sovereign.

The three documents above given were returned to the Registry of the Diocese of London, and are there engrossed.

Besides giving the site, the Company made a small contribution towards the expense of building the Church. The court ordered that

* See page 165 and Sterndale's *History of the Calcutta Collectorate*, page 32, where the whole *pottah* is given.

the cost of iron for the windows should be defrayed from its cash; and on the 22nd of August the Council accordingly paid Rs. 1,310-9-3 on this account. 'Asiaticus' says that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent a silver cup for the altar of the new Church, bearing an appropriate inscription; and that this cup, surviving the sack of Calcutta, was melted down with other old silver by Governor-General Sir John Shore at about the end of the century. But no trace of this gift can be found in the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

St. Anne's stood in a compound, afterwards doubled in size by the addition of a portion on its north side. It was a building* doubtless of the Queen Anne style of architecture, and of about 80 feet in length. The interior consisted of a nave about 20 feet broad, terminated by an apse at the east end for the Altar, and divided from North and South aisles by a row of pillars—perhaps sustaining arches and a course of masonry of an inclusive height of about 30 feet. The nave was covered by a high pitched roof, probably tiled. The roofs of the aisles must have been flat. An organ loft was added, probably at a latter date, at the West end. At the west was a massive section containing the vestibule, the vestry and the tower staircase: over the vestry was probably a chamber, with an outlet upon the terraced roof. Externally the striking feature of the building was the steeple, which consisted of a tower about 20 ft. square in three stages, surmounted by a balustrade and a lofty octagonal spire. The latter was most likely of wood encased in metal. It is safe to assume that, in proportion to the size of the body of the Church, the steeple arose to an imposing elevation. An old plan of Calcutta, printed with Upjohn's map, shews buttresses on the North and South sides of the Church between the windows. These were presumably added after the fall of the steeple, and consequent shaking of the remaining walls, in the cyclone of 1737.

Apparently the steeple was built subsequently to the consecration of the Church as, when in 1712, a bell was sent out for church use, a Bell-cote had to be built for it. The following is a minute of the Factory Council:—

The Honourable Company having sent out a Bell for the use of the Church, agreed that the Buxie do build a convenient, handsome place to hang it in over the Church Porch.†

* See a conjectural ground plan and elevations in *The Parish of Bengal*, by the present writer, also a photograph of an old picture showing the steeple.

† B. P. C., 28th April 1712.

The Rev. J. Long in his *Peeps into social life in Calcutta a Century ago** says (without, however, giving his authority) that this Church was built of bricks, which were not covered with a layer of whitewash, but appeared flashing red, and that on this account it was called by the natives *Lal-Girja*; and he suggests that the Tank which it overlooked on the South derived its name *Lal-Dighi* from the Church. It became the custom for the Governor and the Council, and the Civil servants and the Military off duty, to walk together in procession to the Church to attend Divine service on Sundays, as had been the old usage at Fort St. George. Mr. Long says that the reason why the Governor went afoot was that the Court, to which he had applied for a State carriage for church going, had informed him that 'if he wanted a chaise and pair he must pay for them himself.'†

The church establishment consisted of the Chaplain and one Church-warden and probably a Sidesman, forming the Select Vestry. There was also a Parish Clerk who read the responses on Sundays and kept the church books, and was also probably sexton and undertaker. At a later time we hear of at least one salaried singer. The Clerk had under him, of course, the usual menial native servants.

Somewhere about this period a pestilence visited Calcutta,—from the allusion to the Parish Clerk in the following extract from Captain Hamilton, we may infer it was after the consecration of the Church; and it must have been earlier than 1713, for it cannot be traced in the existing Registers which then begin.

One year I was there—he says—and there were reckoned in August about 1,200 English, some Military, some Servants to the Company, some private Merchants and some Seamen belonging to shipping lying at the town; and before the beginning of January there were four hundred and sixty burials registered in the Clerk's Book of Mortality.

On the 4th of January 1710‡, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge elected Anderson its corresponding member in Bengal; but he died shortly after the receipt of the letter of nomination. On the 13th of August he arranged his papers, and made his will. He was then a widower, living in his own house in Calcutta, with one only child, a daughter, Elizabeth. Ten days afterwards the council having received from Mr. Anderson an 'account upon oath between Mr. James Love‡ (deceased September, 2, 1710) and

* Calcutta 1868.

† For disciplinary regulations at Fort William at this period see B. G. Bk. xiv., d 138, 5th January 1710.

himself' passed an order, to the effect that the Revd. W. Anderson, Chaplain, 'being very desperately ill,' was allowed a voyage to Madras for his health's sake on the *Success*,* Captain Clapham. He probably hoped to reach the house of his sister, who had married a Mr. Cooke, a merchant there, but he either died before he could embark, or at sea, or on returning to Calcutta, for the Madras Register contains no entry of his burial. No Bengal Church Register of so early a date exists. He died, however, so the Consultation Book seems to imply, on the 30th of September 1711, in the 42nd year of his age.

On the 26th of November following, his will was proved at a meeting of the Council; and it is found copied at the end of the day's Proceedings† as follows:—

In the Name of God, Amen. I WILLIAM ANDERSON being of a sound mind and perfect memory but of an infirm state of health do declare this to be my last will and testament. *First*, I recommend my soul into the Hands of Almighty God as a faithful Creator : which I humbly beseech Him to accept of His Own boundless and infinite Mercy, looking upon it not as it is in itself, infinitely polluted with sin, but as it is redeemed and purged by the Precious Blood of His dearly beloved Son, my Saviour Jesus Christ, in confidence of Whose Merits and Mediation I cast myself upon the Mercy of God for the pardon of my sins and the hopes of eternal life.

As for my body I bequeath it to the earth, from whence it was taken, to be decently buried, but with as little charge as possible.

As for my worldly goods, after the payment of all my lawful debts and demands, I dispose them as follows:—

Imprimis : I give and bequeath unto my dear and only daughter ELIZABETH ANDERSON the sum of four thousand rupees current money of Bengall supposing that sum to be the whole amount of my state that is to say when my house and garden and household goods shall be sold and the amount thereof added to such ready money as shall appear to be mine at my decease whether in cash, bonds, or bills, or other lawful demands. *Item* : but if my estate shall amount to more than four thousand rupees then such remainder or overplus, whatsoever it shall be, I do bequeath to my dear and honored mother ELNOR ANDERSON; to be remitted for her use by bill and by the first conveyance to the hands of Mr. Robert Nightingale merchant, or Mr. Richard Nelthorpe goldsmith, in London; both or either of whom as shall seem most expedient to my executors hereafter appointed. *Item* : in case of the death of my dear daughter ELIZABETH ANDERSON during her minority or before marriage, I do bequeath the whole of my estate, or such remaining part of it as shall appear not to be expended for the use of my daughter aforesaid, unto my honored mother MRS. ELNOR ANDERSON; and in case of her

* She left Calcutta on August 25th. Her log contains no allusion to Chaplain Anderson as a passenger, nor to any death on board before arriving at Madras.

† B. P. C. ii.

decease, unto my dear sisters MARY and ELIZABETH ANDERSON,* to be equally divided between them and to be remitted by bill as aforesaid. *Item*: I constitute and appoint my trusty and well-beloved friends MESSRS. FRANCIS† and JOHN COOKE, merchants in Fort St. George, to be guardians of my dear daughter ELIZABETH ANDERSON; requesting of them to improve that small portion I have given her by the safest and most prudent methods they can devise, but above all, to be carefull in giving her a sober and virtuous education. *Item*: I do order and appoint that four of my sermons all fairly written and lying together in a drawer by themselves, with a schedule containing the several texts belonging to them, be remitted to my sister Cooke at Fort St. George for the use of my mother MRS. ELNOB ANDERSON, that rest together with some others papers I have sealed up in a bag with a label to it having these words upon it [*to be burnt*]. Which bag with its contents I do hereby order to be burnt till the whole is consumed as soon as it shall be found after my decease, but not to be opened or looked into by any person whatsoever. *Item*: I constitute and appoint ROBERT HEDGES‡ and SAMUEL BLOUNT§ to be my executors of this my last will and testament. *Lastly*, I do declare this to be my last will and testament; witness my hand and seal this 13 day of August 1711.

WILLIAM ANDERSON.

Signed and sealed where no stamped paper is to be had || in presence of

JAS. WILLIAMSON.¶

THOS. E. RUDGE,**

WILLIAM JAMES.††

After Anderson's death the Chaplaincy was vacant two years.

Captain Hamilton states with regard to the Calcutta Church that—

Ministers of the Gospel being subject to mortality, very often young merchants are obliged to officiate, and have a salary of £50 per annum added to what the Company allows them, for their pains in reading prayers and sermons on Sundays.

He must refer to the period at which we are now arrived, for it is noted in the Bengal Consultation Book of the time, that after the decease of Chaplain William Anderson, Mr. James Williamson, one of the members of Council and Jamadar of the settlement, read prayers and a sermon every Sunday. [This Mr. Williamson, it will

* His younger sisters—not born at Mortlake.

† Assay master at Fort St. George: died 3rd February 171½, aged 39: Epitaph at St. Mary's, Madras.

‡ Factor, 1681. Then 2nd of Council. Died as President, December 28th, 1717.

§ Member of Council; he died September 30th, 1711, probably the same day as the Testator.

|| i.e., at Calcutta.

¶ Member of Council; then Jemadar of Calcutta.

** Died September 29th, 1711, probably the day before the Testator.

†† Chirurgeon; then about starting for Delhi with the famous William Hamilton.

be remembered, had been one of the witnesses at the signing of the late Chaplain's will.] He did not put on a surplice, but for decorum's sake—the prevailing dress of the Queen Anne period being somewhat gay—he provided himself with a suit of black clothes, for the sole purpose of the Church duty. On account of this expenditure the Council voted him a gratuity of Rs. 100 the following March.*

This state of affairs continued until August 1713, when the *Rev. Samuel Briercliffe, M.A.* [Trinity Coll., Camb.], arrived as Company's Chaplain. He was then 27 years of age, having been matriculated at Trinity College in 1705, where his antecedents were recorded as follows:—

1705 Junii 7^o Admissus *Sam: Briercliffe* Pens: ætat: 19. Fil: *Sam: Briercliffe* de Darrenton in Com: Eboracensi e Schola Regia Westmonast: sub Præcep: Dr. Tho. Knipe. Mro. Baker Tut.

In 1708 he graduated B.A., and was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of London on Tuesday 19th, 1709, and Priest on Sunday, September 24th, 1710.

In the seventh volume of *Court Miscellanies* are preserved in original the following letters regarding the appointment of Briercliffe:—

1. TO THE HONOURABLE THE DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

I can only give this testimony of the Rev. Mr. Briercliffe that being well recommended to me, I helpt to place him as Assisting Curate to the late Rector of Hatfield, Dr. Thomas Fuller, who often espresst to me his Approbation of him, that he was a sober and diligent Man and a good Preacher, and was well beloved by the People for his quiet and peaceable behaviour among them which character I believe to be very true.

WINDSOR
Nov. 14, 1712

WHITE KENNETT *Dean*
of Peterborough.

2. TO THE HONOURABLE THE DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

We whose names are herounto subscribed do certify that Samuel Briercliffe, Clerk, has been resident at Hatfield in the Country of Hertford almost two years, where he supply'd that cure truly and faithfully; and is well approv'd of both for his Preaching and his Exemplary life and conversation.

Nov. 14, 1712.
THO. HANE,
Church Warden of
Hartfelde.

CHA. SIBBALD *Rector*
of Hatfield.
VINCT. HODGKIN *Rector*
of Hertingfordbury, and one of
Her Majesty's Justices of ye
peace for the said Country.

* B. P. C. ii. March 1714.

3. TO HIS WORTHY FRIENDS THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED EAST INDIA
COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

Having understood by a Certificate under the hand of yo'r Secretary, Mr. Wooley, that you have elected Mr. Samuel Briercliffe, Clerk, to be your
Chaplain for Fort William in the Bay of Bengal, and having had a very good character of him, I do Approve of him as a fit person for the Office above said.

LAMBETH 10th December, 1712.

THO. CANTUAR.

In December 1712 he was elected Chaplain of Fort William and sailed for Bengal at the end of February following in the *Cardigan*, a ship of 400 tons, with a crew of 80 men and armed with 34 guns.*

His departure for Bengal is thus announced in the Court's General Bengal Letter of February 2nd, 1713, para. 95, in the following singular terms:—

Since it has pleased GOD you are destitute of a Minister by the death of Mr. Anderson, we have entertained *Mr. Samuel Briercliffe* to be our Chaplain at Fort William, who is well recommended to us, at the sallary of fifty pounds a year, and fifty pounds a year gratuity, if he shall be found to deserve it. We hope he will answer our and your expectations, but if he should walk unworthy his vocation you are clothed with power to remove the infection of any person's evil example for we always understand it that we entertain our Chaplains *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. We have given him £20 for his fresh provisions in the voyage.

It is interesting to find that the paragraph proceeds to point out that the evangelistic articles of the late 'English' East India Company's Charter were still in force:—

It is proper here to tell you that since the entire union of the two Companies we act on the foot of the New Company's Charter, which directs that the Company shall constantly maintain in every of their Garrisons and Superior Factories one Minister, and that all such Ministers as shall be sent to reside in India shall be obliged to learn the Portuguese Language, and shall apply themselves to learn the native language of the country where they shall reside, the better to instruct the Gentiles that shall be servants or slaves of the Company and of their agents in the Protestant Religion. That in case of the death of any of the said Ministers residing in the East Indies his place shall be supplied by one of the Chaplains out of the next ship that shall arrive at or near the place where such Minister shall happen to die.

Then follows a provision, in which may be recognized one of the springs of the movement which Briercliffe unsuccessfully strove to

* Log of the *Cardigan*, Ind. Off. Marine Records 663A.

promote, but which some few years later resulted in the establishment of a Charity School in the Factory :—

The Charter directs . . . that the Company shall from time to time supply school-masters in all their Garrisons and Superior Factories when they shall be found necessary.

No express directions under this head were, however, given.

The *Cardigan* appears to have reached Bengal, Balasore or Saugor on the 28th July, and Calcutta on the 12th of August. The same day Briercliffe appeared before the Council and was duly admitted to his cure. He landed in Bengal full of zeal to promote the projects of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—one of these was the establishment of charity schools at the Indian settlements, trusting partly, no doubt, to the Company's paying the school-master as required by the Charter. They adopted this enterprize in pious emulation of those of the Lutheran missionaries, who had been sent by the King of Denmark to minister in the Danish factories of South India. The latest report the Society had received of these, previous to Mr. Briercliffe's departure from England, had been dated from Tranquebar, October 1710; and in this the Lutheran pastors had stated that in that settlement they had two charity schools, one of them containing 34 Malabarian children, and the other 29 Portuguese. The missionaries had suggested to the society that if such schools could be maintained in the Danish factories, it should be much easier to do the like in those of the English—at any rate on the Coromandel Coast, 'by reason of the great sway the Britons have in those parts above other nations:' and—remarks the Society in its reports for 1712, 1713, and 1714:—

It is hoped that the Honorable East India Company will be induced to make an easy of the like nature in a manner worthy of themselves when they see the success that has attended the endeavours of their neighbours.

Mr. Briercliffe when he had been in Calcutta but three months wrote a letter to the S. P. C. K., dated November 20th, 1713, and which was read on August 12th, 1714. It has not been preserved, but in it he doubtless discussed his prospects of promoting the projects of the Society.

One of his first efforts was, accordingly, directed towards establishing a charity school, to the oversight of which he proposed to devote an hour or two daily; but the idea, unfortunately, did not then find favour in Calcutta, and it was not carried out in his time.

After the receipt of Briercliffe's first letter, the Governors of the S. P. C. K., on September 2nd, elected him one of its corresponding

members, and on the 16th December following voted him a parcel of books—and the like to the Chaplain of Fort St. George. The Company allowed such parcels to go freight-free by their ships: on the 22nd of December of the next year, 1715, similar parcels were ordered to be sent.

The books so obtained formed doubtless the nucleus of a Vestry Library, to which an allusion is found at a subsequent date.

In reply to the S. P. C. K.'s letter notifying him of his election as corresponding member, Briercliffe wrote on the 31st December 1715. The substance of his letter* is given in Hough's *History of Christianity in India*, vol. iv, p. 2. In it he alluded to the failure of his attempt at setting up a school, and said, of the English community in Calcutta,—“We are not one in two thousand; we have few protestants in this place besides those of our own nation,” and remarks,—‘A man cannot lodge and board here tolerably well under forty rupees a month, *i.e.*, five pounds.’ On this latter remark it may be observed that Briercliffe was a bachelor, and that he received the same salary and gratuity as did his predecessors—the half-yearly payments, on each Lady Day and Michaelmas, amounting to Rs. 20 + 200 = Rs. 400, that is, Rs. 800 a year, equivalent then to £100. It would appear therefore that even without his allowances, and without resorting to the permissible but questionable resource of private trading, the Calcutta Chaplain, even if married, should have paid his way ‘tolerably well’ on his official stipend.

In the following year, Briercliffe had a correspondence with his brother Chaplain at Bombay, Richard Cobbe, M.A., which is preserved in the latter's *Bombay Church, or a true Account of the building and finishing the English Church at Bombay, in the East Indies, &c.—London, 1766*.† The letters are interesting as showing the troubles with which the Bombay Church-Building Committee had to contend—troubles of which, happily, there appears to have been no likeness in Calcutta—and also the generosity of the Calcutta community, when properly stimulated, towards pious objects.

The letters are the following—

1. *To the Reverend Mr. SAMUEL BRIERCLIFFE, Chaplain in Bengal.*
Bombay Castle, Mar. 24. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Rev. Sir,—I hope you will excuse the freedom of this request; it is on behalf of our ruinous church at Bombay which is now again in building and

The original letter cannot now be found at the office of the S. P. C. K.

† Copies in Brit. Mus. [4765, c. 30], and in the Bombay Cathedral Library. This little book is well worth reprinting.

in a fair prospect of being completed. His honour Boone,* I hear, has wrote to the President and Council in Bengal to same effect, with whom I would desire your favourable concurrence in promoting the good work and getting for us what subscriptions you can amongst the gentlemen there.

We have collected already about 24,000 Rupees, and have the honour of the President and Council as trustees for the same, which I hope will be encouragement sufficient for the most generous subscriber, and that whatsoever is thus charitably intended will now be applied to its proper use. I speak this on account of the misapplication of what was formerly contributed and the scandalous abuse of such abundant charity.

If I can be any ways serviceable to you in these parts, I desire you would please to command at any time, Dear Sir, your affectionate brother and very humble servant

RICHARD COBBE.

[The Bombay Council also wrote on the same subject to Robert Hedges, President, &c., Fort William, on 10th August, 1716.]

To this letter Briercliffe replied :—

2.

Calcutta, Dec. 8, 1716.

Rev. Sir,—I received your letter concerning Bombay Church, and as I very much approve of your undertaking, so I have done what I reasonably can to serve you in that affair. Governor Hedges has wrote to Governor Boone to pay in 500 rupees on his account; there is some more money promised but I cannot tell yet in what manner it may be paid, but by some of the latter ships I shall inform you more particularly.

Subscriptions of Charity go on but heavily, and the ill-natured proverb of fore-swearing the building of Churches is too true: but the particular circumstances of your Church rather confirm people in an unwillingness to contribute towards. But I do not question but his honour Boone will much encourage it, as he is a gentleman of a great character and equal to the station he now adorns. I am, Revd. Sir, your affectionate brother

SAMUEL BRIERCLIFFE.

And a few days later followed up this letter by another :—

3. To the Revd. RICHARD COBBE, Chaplain at Bombay.

Bengal, Dec. 17, 1716.

Revd. Sir,—I herewith send you our subscription paper, which was at first designed to be paid into the Company's cash, but not being able to raise a large sum it was thought more expedient that every subscriber should pay his own money as he thought proper.

I told you in my last that Governor Hedges had wrote to Governor Boone to pay in his subscriptions.

* Charles Boone, Governor of Bombay, 1716—1720.

I have given a note to Mr. George Wynch to pay in one hundred Rupees on my account, to whom I believe Mr. Frankland * has given the like donation, and if you speak to Captain Boddam he will pay in Mr. Livesay's.†

This is the whole of what I am able to get for you, but shall be always glad of any opportunity of showing myself, Reverend Sir, your very humble servant and affectionate brother.

SAMUEL BRIERCLIFFE.

Mr. Cobbe acknowledged these letters and remittances on May 4th, 1717.

That Briercliffe was both a respected and a popular clergyman within his cure is plain from the allusion with which the following paragraph of the Court's Bengal letter of 18th January 1716 [1717] opens. Yet, for mysterious reasons of their own, the Court mistrusted him.

Para. 81. We take notice of the commendations you give of Mr. Briercliffe, your Chaplain. We hope he deserves it and shall be glad it continues, but we have a character of him that doth not correspond therewith at all times:—That he understands and practices other matters besides those that directly or in consequence respect his function, and though they may be thought excusable in others are not so well in him, and wherein the following of his example is not praiseworthy in any.

What pursuit of their Chaplain's, the Court can be thus obscurely censuring, the writer, at least, cannot conjecture. It can hardly have meant that Briercliffe sometimes bought and sold country goods, for this would not have been a blameworthy example to other servants of the Company. It was a privilege which the Court apparently did not forbid, and which, in view of their small stated salaries, was always claimed by its servants as their right. The riddle is perhaps now insolvable. The letter continues to discuss his allowances:—

If the allowance we give him of forty rupees a month for Diet, though a single man, be but equal to the lowest—not second—of Council; or rather what was usually allowed to our Chaplains there, and that he has no larger allowance for servants' wages—we say no more, but we apprehend that it is, and, if so, it must be reduced, not out of disrespect to him but to prevent innovations.

The Council's letter to the Court to which this paragraph is a reply is lost—unhappily, for it must have given a pretty comprehensive

* Henry Frankland, then Church-warden.

† William Livesay, merchant, "*an eminent super-cargoe*," died on Nov. 15th, 1719, buried with his family in St. John's Churchyard.

sketch of Briercliffe's conduct and qualities, since the Court continues its comments:—

You say Portuguese comes easy to him. It had been better express if true, that he hath taken pains and is master of it. And as to the native language of the country, our Charter, as we told you, requires he should apply himself to learn it, and that he should in twelve months learn the Portuguese language. This is a condition required by the Charter of all whom we send out Chaplains to India. Padro Lewis of Fort St. George had much more fatigue than he can, and yet found time to understand Persian.

The next paragraph deals with the annual returns from the Parish Registers.

Para. 82. We did by the *St. George*,* receive a paper directed to the Secretary, called '*Copy of the Calcutta Register*,' which contained an account of the Burials, Marriages and Baptisms; and by the same ship an account sent in the same manner from Dr. Coult† of persons deceased. Neither of these are as they should be; nor are they signed.

For the future let it be the President's and Council's care to send annually an account, with a proper title and certificate in form, signed, and the time when done, by the Chaplain for the time being, of the European's Marriages, Births or Burials within his Parish or Precinct, and of [P on] two or more ships send duplicates thereof. This may be sometimes absolutely necessary for the benefit of the persons married and especially born there: and without it they may suffer very greatly as we have had experience in two or three instances. We further say we expect the like signed certificates and duplicates annually from the Doctor or Chief Chirurgeon of the Europeans dying within your precinct, as to the time and of what distemper or casualty. In each of these lists mention the proper additions [Pconditions] of the persons, as for instance, Factor, Writer, Souldier, Seaman, &c. Be sure it be not hereafter omitted, and let both lists be drawn with proper columns for the dates, persons, names, qualities, &c.

These returns had been regularly furnished from Calcutta, unsigned, for years past. The earliest now existing begins on August 14th, 1713, immediately after the arrival of Briercliffe. From that date the series at the India Office seems to be very complete to the present day.

Those for the year 1714 [March 25th, 1714, to March 24th, 1715], show 9 Baptisms, 7 Marriages, and 57 Burials.‡

Para. 83. On perusing your 95th para. by the *Bouverie* relating to the liberty of keeping your Surgeons, we reviewed what we wrote ast year para. 89.

* Nearly a year before, on 20th February 1714.

† (P) Dr. C. Doult.

‡ See Appendix C.

wherein we ordered the reducing those and in consequence the discharge of Dr. Hamilton on his return from Court, unless there was good reason to the contrary; but finding by the letters before us how successful he hath been in curing the Great Mogul, which very probably will help forward our negotiations and get an easier grant of some our requests, we now say that if Dr. Hamilton shall desire a continuance in our service, you readily consent to it and let him see you are sensible of the benefit accruing to us if you find any hath, by his undertaking and accomplishing that cure.

Alas! Chaplain Briercliffe can scarcely have enjoyed one month's benefit of this letter's admonitions, and Surgeon Hamilton not five months of the favours it conditionally promises to him, ere they both were laid in the cemetery; the former in a spot now forgotten, the latter where his tombstone was discovered in 1786,* when digging the foundations for the steeple of St. John's Church. This monument is now in the Charnock mausoleum, and bears the following inscription:—

Under this stone lyes interred
the Body of
WILLIAM HAMILTON, Surgeon†
Who departed this life the 4th December 1717.
His memory ought to be dear to his Na-
tion for the credit he gain'd the English
in curing FERRUKSEER, the present
King of Indostan, of a ma-
lignant Distemper, by which he
made his own Name famous at the
Court of that Great Monarch;
and without doubt will perpetu-
ate his memory, as well in Great Britain
as all other Nations of Europe.

[This is followed by an epitaph in similar terms in the Persian language and character.]

In his Will, which was proved a few days after his decease, he says:—

Item. I give and bequeath to the Church off Bengall one thousand rupees.‡

This bequest was doubtless intended for the completion or embellishment of St. Anne's—for if it had been for the charity fund

* St. John's Vestry Minutes and page 187.

† He is called *Physician* in the Burial Register, Dec. 5th, 1717.

He was a son (says Mr. C. R. Wilson) of John Hamilton of Boggs in Bothwell, Lanark, and nephew of Sir Richard Hamilton, physician to Queen Anne. He came to India in 1710 as Surgeon of the *Sterbome* frigate, which he ran away from at Cuddalore.

‡ B. P. C. iii., p. 315.

which is at a later date found in the hands of the Chaplain and Church warden, the testator would probably have expressly mentioned that object.

Nothing more has been traced about Briercliffe, save that on October 22nd, 1716, he made his Will, and that he died on the 14th of August 1717, and was buried the next day. His will is as follows:—

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN,—I *Samuel Briercliffe* Chaplain to the Honourable East India Company in Bengall being of perfect health both of mind and body but knowing the uncertainty of human life do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following. *Imprimis* I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator trusting in the Sacrifice of JESUS CHRIST my Saviour that I shall be admitted into everlasting happiness: and as to my body I bequeath it to the earth to be buried by the order of my trustees hereafter nominated with as much frugality as possible.

Item I bequeath unto my worthy friend *Thomas Briercliffe* now or lately living in Crown Court in Cheapside London my whole estate, that is all summs of money goods chattles and effects whatsoever wherewith at the time of my decease I shall be . . . with, or which shall then of right belong unto me. *Item* I do bequeath one hundred pound sterling of England unto my dear mother *Ann Briercliffe*, but in case of her decease before the arrival of this my will in England I bequeath the said one hundred pounds to the Charity School of Christ Church Hospital in London. *Item* I do constitute *Mr. Waterworth Collett** my trustee and executor whom I request and order to put my estate into the Company's cash and remit it to England by Bill.

This I do declare to be my last will and testament in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 22nd day of October 1716 in Calcutta in Bengall

SAMUEL BRIERCLIFFE.

Signed sealed and delivered [when no stamp paper is to be had] in the presence of us witnesses

JONES CANE.

JAMES RUSSELL.

This Will was proved at the meeting of Council on 1st November 1717 as follows:†—

The last will and testament of the *Rev. Mr. Samuel Briercliffe* deceased being produced the 15th August 1717 and registered after the consultation of that day, but, the witnesses not being then present, neither could they be sworn: and *James Russell* one of the witnesses appearing this first day of November 1717 before us the President and Council in Bengall for affairs of the Honourable the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in the Consultation Room in Fort William, and being sworn on the Holy

* Member of Council and Storekeeper.

† B. P. C. iii., p. 216.

Evangelists deponeth that he saw the testator sign seal and deliver this to be his last will and testament, also that he and the other witness, namely *James [sic] Cane* who is a midshipman on board the *Prince Frederick* saw each other sign as witnesses, and that the testator was at that time perfectly in his senses. [Signed by Robert Hedges, Governor, and six Members of Council.]

Another Will found in the same Consultation Book [p. 343] and proved January 17¹⁷/₁₈—that of *Governor Robert Hedges* [Buried December 28th, 1717]—contains a provision of some interest to the present subject. He directs that he would have *no monument built* over his grave in Calcutta. This suggests that already the burying-ground was becoming occupied by such huge tombs of masonry as now impart so ruinous an aspect to the older Bengal cemeteries.

CHAPTER VI.

1717 to 1726.

AFTER Briercliffe's death, two years and five months elapsed during which there was no resident Chaplain in Bengal. In 1718 and 1719, *Henry Frankland** was Church warden of St. Anne's and conducted official business. Divine service was carried on every Sunday from the death of Briercliffe to the arrival of his successor by Mr. Richard Harvey, the junior of the two factory Surgeons, and the Consultation Book shows under date of Monday, February 1st, 17¹⁹/₂₀, that the Council voted him a reward of Sicca Rs. 400 for this service 'being the usual gratuity allowed by the Company to their chaplains over and above their stated sellary and allowances.'† In 1720 and probably till Easter of 1721, *William Spenser* was Church warden.

To about this period may be referred the quaint account of the religious state of the Settlement given by Captain Hamilton:—

In Calcutta all religions are freely tolerated, but the Presbyterian: and that they browbeat.‡ The Pagans carry their idols in procession through the town. The Roman Catholics have their Church to lodge their idols in, and the Mahometan is not discountenanced; but there are no polemics except between our High-church men and our Low, or between the Governor's party and other private merchants§ on points of trade.

Between the death of Briercliffe in August 1717 and the arrival of Joseph Paget on March 27th, 1722, four years and-a-half, there is no record of any Sacraments having been administered according to the rites of the English Church in Calcutta—except in December of 1721, when a "Mr. Long" baptized three children, and in the following February, when some one solemnized a marriage. Thomlinson, during his short career, recorded no baptisms nor marriages, but he must have celebrated the Holy Eucharist on certain occasions; and it is to be hoped that the Chaplains of the Company's ships anchoring at the port from time to time celebrated at St. Anne's—though

* He died as Governor of Fort William and was buried August 23rd, 1728.

† And see Court's Letter to Bengal, 16th Feb. 1724, § 91.

‡ Which shows (says some one) "that Scotchmen had not then got their present hold upon the presidency." Hamilton was himself a Scotchman.

§ He was himself a private merchant.

evidently none of them was willing to undertake the pastoral cure of the Factory, which, according to the terms of the Charter, should have been assigned to them.

After receiving, on the 21st August 1719, by the ship *Grantham*, the duplicate of the parish register for the year following that in which Briercliffe died—containing neither baptisms nor marriages—the Court wrote to Bengal on 3rd February 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ as follows:—

Para. 79. We should have, with the Church list of the deceased, the Doctor's also, of what distempers; but we received one by one ship and the other by another, and by comparing them we find that they differ as to persons, and in commencement and ending. This should be regulated better, and both begin from the 1st January and end the 31st December, or if after, yet add to the next list those after the 31st December.

Accordingly, we find the next Church list beginning with the 1st January. This makes it overlap the previous one by two or three names. These duplicated entries illustrate a remarkable inaccuracy on the part of the copyist, of which there are many examples in these early returns, thus:—

Burials in 17 $\frac{1}{2}$.

<i>End of former return.</i>		<i>Beginning of next return.</i>	
January	9 Peter Seve, Soldier.	January	9 John Timberman, Soldier.
"	12 John Timberman, Soldier.	"	12 Christopher Goverson, Soldier.
"	16 Christian Govestone, do.		

After their receipt of the former of these two returns, by the *Cadogan* on 25th August 1720, and so before these discrepancies had declared themselves, the Court wrote under date of 26th April, 1721.

Para. 60. You tell us, para. 124, the list of Marriages, Births and Burials and the Doctor's list of the deceased, is continued as we approve, but we don't find it so. We have a list of burials but of neither of the other, and that not signed. Let the persons whose place it is to send this list take care they never again be guilty of such a culpable omission. There hath been, and may again be, an occasion to prove a marriage, birth, or burial in our courts of judicature which could not have been done to satisfaction without such a list produced at the trial. This, if there were no others, is a sufficient reason why all the lists should be every year sent with a certificate or attestation at the bottom, that it hath been compared with the Church Register and found to agree therewith, and then dated and signed by the Minister, if one there, and if in the absence of the Minister, as was the case of the aforesaid list, then by the Church wardens or other proper, respectable persons, or else by the Secretary.

Ever after the receipt of this censure, or at least for the next 50 years, the returns from the Calcutta Church Register were regularly

made in due form by the Chaplains, or in their absence by the Church wardens, without further remonstrance being provoked.

The Court, after Mr. Briercliffe's death, permitted an unreasonable delay to occur in filling up the appointment, for not until the 19th of January 1718, *i.e.*, 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ did they write to Bengal :—

Para. 68. We have on your account of Mr. Briercliffe's decease elected Mr. Joshua Thomlinson who hath been Chaplain several years at St. Helena, to succeed him, and shall direct him to take passage for India on the Bencoolen ship touching there.

This Mr. Thomlinson was a member of Christ's College, Cambridge, where, however, his matriculation is recorded as follows :—

1692. July 5. *Josias Tomlinson* natus apud Poole in agro Eboracensi. Literis institutus apud Leeds in eodem agro, sub Mr. Clark. An. Æta. 17 exoravit sibi locum inter sisatores Mri. Holdsworth.

He graduated B.A. in 1695 and M.A. in 1699. In 1707 he became the Company's Chaplain at St. Helena, where, in the Register of Baptisms at St. James's Church, there is a chapter headed 'Baptisms by Mr. Joshua Thomlinson, Minister, who arrived here the 16th of May 1707, *per ship Rochester.*' The last entry under his name is dated June 28th, 1719. He probably sailed for India a few days afterwards.

And on the 23rd of January 17 $\frac{19}{20}$ he arrived at Calcutta. His wife accompanied him. They came by a Dutch ship *via* Batavia. The Consultation Book shows that on Lady Day Thomlinson was paid salary for two months and two days, namely, at £50 per annum, Rs. 68-14-3, and gratuity of the like amount.

It may be presumed that Thomlinson would have been expected to carry out at St. Anne's Church almost the whole order of public worship according to the use of the Church of England daily throughout the year. In the absence of any knowledge to the contrary, it is fair to assume that the standard of religious observance differed little between Calcutta and Bombay. Of the usage at the latter presidency we have most interesting contemporary evidence preserved in the Rev. Richard Cobbe's *History of Bombay Church* already quoted : it is contained in the two following letters :—

1. *To the Hon'ble C. Boone, Esq., &c., &c.,*

Bombay Castle, September 10, 1718.

Honourable Sir,

Having considered the necessity of a regular administration in matters relating to the Service of God, and the great advantages attending the same, especially

here in these remote parts, I have with your honour's leave, according to my office and according to the utmost of my strength and ability drawn up a scheme of service and duty according to the use of the Church of England to be performed by God's Assistance in the new Church, in this or such like following method.—

Prayers at Church.

Every day throughout the year Morn and Even.

Sermon in Church.

Every Sunday throughout the year, Christmas day, Ascension day, Ashwednesday, Good Friday, Fifth of November, Thirtieth of January, Twenty-ninth of May, King's Accession Morning.

Sacrament at Church.

The first Sunday in every month, Christmas day, Easter day, Whitsunday Morning.

Catechising in Church.

All Sundays, Holidays and Litany days in Lent. Evening.

This scheme of duty (the hour of the day when to be performed being wholly left to your Honour's discretion) is with all submission humbly proposed to your Honour's approbation, by, Honourable Sir,

Your Honour's Most Obedient Humble Servant and Chaplain.

RICHARD COBBE.

2. *To the Rev. Mr. Richard Cobbe, Chaplain.*

The Church being now finished so as divine service may be decently performed therein, the President has thought fit to order me to inform you it is his pleasure to-morrow morning, being the Nativity of our blessed Lord, you repair thither at the hour of ten and perform the office according to the Liturgy of the Church of England as usual, and to continue the service of the Church as appointed on every day of the week at the hours of eight in the morning and four in the afternoon (provided you find you are able to go through with it), except on Sundays when the Service is not to begin until ten. By order of the Honourable Charles Boone, Esq., President and Governor of Bombay, &c.,

BOMBAY CASTLE,
24th December, 1718.

OWEN PHILLIPS,
Secretary.

Thomlinson's career was lamentably short—just over four months, for in May he was on his death-bed—and, on Sunday, the 29th, he made his Will of which the following is the substance* :—

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.—I *Joshua Thomlinson* Minister of God's word in Calcutta in Bengall being sick and weak of body, but, God be praised, of sound and perfect mind and memory, do make, ordain, publish and declare this

* B. P. C. IV.

to be my last will and testament: and I doe hereby revoke and annull all former wills and testaments by me heretofore made. I recommend my soul unto the hands of Almighty God my merciful Creator trusting through the merits and through the mediation of my Redeemer Jesus CHRIST to obtain free pardon of my sins and a joyful resurrection to eternal life. My body I commend to the earth to be decently interred at the discretion of my executor hereafter mentioned.

As for world estate it shall please God to entrust me with, all my just debts and funeral charges being paid, I give and bequeath as follows:—To my dear sister Cook £30 or 240 Rupees, &c., &c., &c.

And I give towards setting up a Charity School in this place eighty rupees.

[The rest of his property to his wife *Elizabeth*. The executor being "the Honorable Samuel Feake, Esq."—President of the Council.]

The next day he died and was buried. His Will was proved on Thursday, the 2nd June 1720. He was in his 45th year.

His widow survived him but a few months. The register records her burial on the 7th of September. Another *Joshua Thomlinson*, as appears by the Bishop of London's Register, was admitted on 31st December 1723, to officiate in the parish church of Clerkenwell. The bequest towards the setting up of a charity school is very interesting, for it shows that *Briercliffe's* efforts were beginning to bear fruit, and that, at least, a scheme for a charity school was then afoot. This benefaction is the earliest recorded of the long succession of bequests and donations that have gone to build up that great charitable foundation now known as *The Calcutta Free School*. The next is the bequest of Rs. 40 made by his widow.

Mrs. Elizabeth Thomlinson's Will contains some interesting information about her husband's library. It was proved in Council on the 12th September 1720, and runs as follows:—

In the name of God, Amen. I, Elizabeth Thomlinson, Widdow, of Calcutta, being sick and weak in body, but of sound and perfect memory prais'd be God, do make and ordain this to be my last Will and Testament as followeth. *Imprimis*, I will and direct that all my just debts and funerall charges be paid. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto the Hon'ble Samuel Feake Esq., the sume of four hundred rupees. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto the Worship'ill James Williamson Esq. the sume of one hundred and sixty rupees. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto my Nephew Thomas Swallow the sume of two thousand and four hundred rupees which I desire may be deposited in the hands of the Hon'ble Samuel Feake for his maintainance and education which I request the Hon'ble Samuel Feake Esq. will be pleas'd to take care off. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto my deceas'd Husband the Revd. Mr. Joshua Thomlinson his neeces the Daughters of his eldest Sister who he hath sent for out of England the sume of nine hundred and sixty rupees being the like sume which my said husband hath given them in his last Will and I

do give it on the same conditions which he hath done in his Will, but in case neither of them doth come out of England to this place, then I give unto my said Husbands eldest Sister her Daughters each of them the sume of two hundred and forty rupees or thirty pounds Sterling. *Item*, I give unto my said Husbands two sisters each of them one hundred and sixty rupees or twenty pounds. *Item*, I give and bequeath unto my Brothers John and William Worrall on the Island of St. Hellena each of them the sume of eight hundred rupees or one hundred pounds Sterling, but in case my Brother William Worrall is dead, then I give the above-mentioned eight hundred rupees or one hundred pounds between his children to be equally divided amongst them. *Item*, I give unto my Sister in Law Martha Worrall the debt which she owes me and also the sume of one hundred and sixty rupees. *Item*, I give unto my Brother John Worrall his two eldest Daughters the sume of four hundred rupees or fifty pounds each. *Item*, I give unto my neece Elizabeth Eldost Daughter of my Brother John Worrall all my plate that is to say two Tankards, twelve spoons, one salver, three casters, and one porringer, also one Table cloth and sixteen English Diaper Knapkins. *Item*, I give unto my brother John Worrall what debts he owes me. *Item*, I give unto my nephews Joshua and William, sons of my Brother John Worrall, the sume of three hundred and twenty rupees each, and to his daughter Margaret I also give three hundred and twenty rupees. *Item*, I give unto my Brother William Worrall his children each of them forty pounds, or three hundred and twenty rupees in case their Father William Worrall is alive. *Item*, I give my Slave wench Nanny, which I left along with Mrs. Elizabeth Lacy on St. Hellena, her freedom. *Item*, I give forty rupees towards a Charrity School in Calcutta. *Item*, I give and dispose of all my deceased Husband the Rev. Joshua Thomlinson his Library of Books as followeth, *viz.*, I give to the Hon^{ble} Samuel Feake Esq. three volumes of Doctor Sherlocks works, his discourses of a futuro state, death, and judgement, six vols. of Doctor Ofspring Blackwalls works, two vols. new in folio, of Doctor Tillotsons works, the whole duty of man in folio, six vols. of my Lord Clarrindons works, two vols. of Doctor Derham's works, *viz.* his Astro Theologic and Phisico Theologic, and any other books which he shall have a fancy for. I give unto the Worp^{ll} James Williamson out of the remainder of my Husbands books the same number of Books which I have given Govr. Feake, such as he shall like best. I give unto my Brother John Worrall Doctor Sherlocks Sermons, and one old Volum of Doctor Tillotsons Sermons. I give unto Thomas Coales his choice of thirty books out of what books remains, and the remaining Books, such as Latin, Greek, Hebrew, &c., also all the Commentaries on the Bible I give to the Church of Calcutta. *Item*, I desire that all my wearing apparrell may be sent to my Brother John Worrall at St. Hellena, which I give between his Wife and Daughters excepting one black sattin gown and petty coat and a black scarf which I give to my Sister-in-Law Martha Worrall. *Item*, I give and bequeath all the remainder part of my Estate to my Brothers John and William Worrall to be divided equally between them. *Item*, I appoint and desire the Hon. Saml. Feake and the Worp^{ll} James Williamson to be Trustees to this my last Will and Testament, and lastly I do hereby will and ordain this to be my last Will and Testament revoking ~~disannulling~~ and disallowing all other former Wills, etc., made by me heretofore.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal in Callcutta this 13th day of June, 1720.

Signed, sealed, and declared to be the last Will and Testament of Elizabeth Thomlinson in the presence of us. After enterlining in the 1st side beginning of the sixteenth line the words [and four hundred].

ELISA THOMLINSON.

Seal.

THO. COALES

ROBT. BROADFOOT

RICHD. CLEAVERLEE.

A codicill made this fourth day of September, Anno Dom. 1720, by me Elizabeth Thomlinson, to my last Will and Testament dated in Callcutta the 13th day of June, 1720. That is to say, I will and desire my Trustees the Hon. Saml. Feake and the Worship'l James Williamson nominated in my said Will to build a Tomb over my Husbands and my grave. In Witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seal in Callcutta the day and year above written.

Signed and sealed in the presence of

E. THOMLINSON.

Seal.

THO. COALES

ROBT. BROADFOOT.

Nearly two years again elapsed ere Bengal had again a resident clergyman. In 1721, *John Stackhouse** succeeded William Spencer as Church warden, and was probably holding office when the *Rev. Joseph Paget*, B.A., on the 27th of March 1722, arrived to assume the pastoral charge.

Paget was a member of Jesus College, Cambridge, and a younger son of the Rev. Joseph Paget, of Thurlaston in Leicestershire, where he received his schooling. He graduated B.A. in 1717. He had an elder brother, a graduate of Trinity, also in Holy Orders. His application for the appointment is dated April 19th, 1721. In it he says: "I humbly offer to serve your Honours in that sacred employ and promise to behave myself in all respects as becomes a ministe of the Gospel." The Primate's approval is dated three days later.

Paget's incumbency, like those of his three immediate predecessors, was swiftly out short by death. He had just completed his second year in Bengal, when, on the 26th of March 1724, he fell a victim to the climate. He was at that time on tour at Dacca.

* Governor of Fort William 1721½ to 1724½.

On the 24th he made his Will, which was proved before the Calcutta Council on the 26th of June following.*

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I *Joseph Paget* of Calcutta in Bengall, Clerk, being at present in Dacca in great weakness of body but of sound mind and understanding do make this my last will and testament.

Imprimis I recommend my soul to the Hands of Almighty God Who gave it and my body to be decently committed to the ground from which it was taken. *Item* : I give and bequeath to the Library of Jesus Colledge in the University of Cambridge £10. *Item* : To the poor of the town of Thurleston in the County of Leicester £8. *Item* : £40 to the widow and orphans of the Late Thomas Paget. *Item* : I give and bequeath my books to the Calcutta Church Vestry.

[He leaves the residue to his mother, and failing her to his brother *John Paget*, Vicar, Queenborough, and his two sisters. Dated 24th of March 1724.]

The gift of his books to the Calcutta Vestry and the similar gift of Biblical Commentaries by the Will of the late Chaplain's widow apparently implies, as has already been suggested, that a Church Library had been formed at St. Anne's.

Paget's tomb still exists in the Dacca Cemetery: it occupies a picturesque spot beside a tank, and in front of the lofty Mauresque mausoleum of 'Colombo sahib.' It is a large table monument of masonry and plaster, bearing this inscription in raised letters at its eastern end—

Near this place lyeth interred the
Body of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Paget
Minister of Calcutta
Obt., March 26, 1724,
aged about 26 years.

The tomb is one of those kept in repair by Government. After Paget's decease, two years and five months elapsed, during which the Company had no Chaplain in Bengal. In the September after Paget's death St. Anne's sustained severe injuries by lightning. The following occurs in the Consultations of Monday September 21st, 1724 :—

By terrible Lightening on Saturday night last, the Church has receiv'd great Damage, and particularly the steeple which is all cracked, and the Beams of the Belfrey almost all broke which makes it very insecure and in Danger of falling.

Ordered therefore that the Buxey do take with him the Master Builder, and examine it carefully, and that what Reparations are necessary be immediately done thereto.

Some time in 1725 a new Bible and Prayer book arrived, 'for the use of the Church in Bengal.' They were the gift of Mr. Edward Crisp, of London, who had heard from Chaplain Paget that the existing copies were "old and worn out."

In 1725 and 1726 *T. Falconer* was Church-warden. Beside his signature to the yearly returns of 'Marriages, Births and Burials,' for 1724 and 1725, are those of *Abraham Olger* (perhaps the Sidesman), and of the transcriber *Thomas Moore* (perhaps the Parish Clerk). A duplicate of the return of deaths for 1725, however, is signed by *Ol. Boult & Richard Harvey*—the factory Surgeons, and they add the cause of death to each name.

Samuel Briercliffe, Joshua Thomlinson, and Joseph Paget, chaplains of the East India Company, had in succession each, after a very brief ministry in Bengal, fallen victims to the climate. The last-named had died at Dacca on the 26th March 17 $\frac{23}{4}$. Just a year elapsed before the Court in Leadenhall Street learnt the news. They lost no time, but within nine months were able to advise the sending out of a priest to take the vacant place. They selected a man who was destined to set the climate, for thirty years, at defiance, and then to perish, not by an Indian sickness, but by suffocation in the Black-Hole. The following paragraph occurs in the Bengal Letter of 1st December, 1725:—

Para 63. 'Upon your letter of the 6th September advising Mr. Pagett your late Chaplain died the 26th March preceding, we have elected *Mr. Gervase Bellamy* to succeed him on the usual terms of £50 a year salary and £50 a year gratuity if he shall be found from time to time to deserve it, and have given him £30 for fresh provisions for the voyage. Remember that by the charter he is required to learn the natives' Language, viz., Portuguese.'

Of the antecedents of this man an extended search has produced no information whatever beyond the fact that he was ordained priest by Samuel, Bishop of London, in St. Paul's Cathedral, on the 30th of September 1724. He seems not to have graduated at any University, and must have been at least four years in deacon's orders; for on the 25th October 1720, the Bishop of London had licensed him to be *Prælector*, or 'Reader,' in the Parish Church of St. Mary, Somerset, London (a parish now merged in that of St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey). Of his family it can only be said that he had reputable contemporaries of his name—the two Daniel Beliamys, of whom the younger was a writer of commentaries and sermons,* and

* His sermons were published by J. Bellamy, London, 1754.

Sir Edward Bellamy, Knight, an Alderman of London, and once Lord Mayor, who in 1738 was a Governor of the Bank of England.

This gentleman may well have been the influential patron who obtained for Gervase, and afterwards for Humphry Bellamy, appointments from the Court of the East India Company. At the time of Gervase's election, the junior clergy of the London Diocese and elsewhere in England, lived, for the most part, in circumstances of the deepest penury. A contemporary account of their condition exists in the *Miseries and Great Hardships of the Inferior Clergy in and about London*: being a letter to the Bishop of London, A.D. 1722, by Thomas Stackhouse, Curate of Finchley.* He tells us that at the time he wrote:—

The inferior clergy were objects of extreme wretchedness. They lived in garrets, and appeared in the streets with tattered cassocks. The common fee for a sermon was a shilling and a dinner, for reading prayer, two-pence and a cup of coffee.

He suggested that religious and charitable societies should make gifts to the poorer clergy of decent gowns and cassocks in which to appear (according to the requirement of a canon still in force) in public. It is reasonable to assume, considering his lack of a university degree, the humbleness of his office, his long diaconate, the prevailing poverty of his order that it was *res angusta domi* no less than the being able to secure patronage that determined his vocation, in the 36th year of his age, to the service of the Lord beyond the seas.

On the 22nd of August 1726, Gervase landed at Fort William. He may have come out married, for in the Register of Burials, under date of July 1st, is recorded, "Mrs. Jane Bellamy." No trace, however, has been found of any children of such a marriage. The day next after his landing it was he, no doubt, who officiated at the funeral of one 'Captain William Jordan,' and after that for many years, until the Company sanctioned to him an assistant priest, he must have read the burial service four or five times every week. During the earlier part of the month of his arrival weddings had been solemnized at Fort William by the Rev. Thomas Sawbridge, a chaplain, from Tellicherry. This same clergyman had visited Hooghly in the previous January and administered Holy Baptism to some of the Dutch inhabitants. Mr. Sawbridge on returning to his family in Tellicherry in January 172 $\frac{5}{8}$ had been allowed by the Council to draw Chaplain's pay and

* Quoted by Abbey and Overton. 'English Church,' vol. ii, pp. 17 and 470.

full local allowances, viz. Rs. 1,183-8-6, for seven months' duty.* On this the Company comment the next year thus:--

We find in your consultations of the 6th January an entry made of Rupees, 1,188-6 presented *Mr. Sawbridge* for performing Divine Service for seven months. It is then added that it is the same allowance the Chaplains have always had, which is not so in fact for the allowance to a Chaplain is but £50 a year and £50 gratuity if found to deserve it; so that you must recover the surplus of what is paid more than our stated allowance, or pay it yourselves.†

From February to June 1726 matrimony had been performed by 'Mr. Lloyd' and Mr. John Oldmixon‡—company's merchants. Mr. Oldmixon having performed divine service for six months of 1725 received a gratuity of 200 sicca rupees for his services.§ There is no note of the name of the officiants at marriages during the remainder of the vacancy in the chaplaincy. No baptisms during the interval are recorded: only 'Births.' A suspicion as to the decay of religious faith in the settlement is raised by the fact that the Baptisms of the said infants cannot be traced.

* P. P. C. Thursday, 6th Jany. 172½.

† Bengal General Letter, 17th February, 1726-7.

‡ "Buried 17½, March 15th, Mr. John Oldmixon, Senior Merchant."

§ B. P. C., Monday, 28th March 1726.

CHAPTER VII.

1726 to 1737.

CALCUTTA, as Bellamy found it on his arrival, consisted of a group of European buildings clustered round 'the Park'—about the midst of which was the great tank called the 'Lall Dighi.' Beyond the European buildings were four villages of mud and bamboo, all of which were included in the zemindari limits of the settlement. These villages were the original three, with the addition of Chowringhee, a swampy place, separated on the west from Govindpur by a tiger-haunted jungle where now expands the grassy level of the Maidan. The creek wandering inland past the southern wall of the burying ground divided Chowringhee and Govindpur from the English town and the still native portion of Dhee and Bazar Calcutta.

A great part of the western edge of the park was occupied by Fort William—and perhaps by some store-houses of the company. From its south-western corner a road leading to one of the *ghats* gave access to the hospital and to the burying-ground that lay behind it occupying the angle between what was then the river bank and the creek.

Hamilton says:—

The Company has a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the grievance of physic, but few come out to give account of its operation.

Garden-houses lay between the southern boundary road of the park and the creek—one of which Bellamy afterwards acquired as his residence—and east of the park, and to the north, whence the English settlement had crept up from Sutanuti, and in which direction lay the great bazar, then, as now, the wealthiest native quarter of the settlement,—there were English houses and gardens also. North of the park, and immediately fronting the Fort, stood the Presidency Church in its compound, its lofty spire forming a principal object in every view of the town. From the east gate of the fort, passing the church and forming the northern boundary of the park, ran out the great eastern road—known now as Bow Bazar road—crossed at right angles at a little distance by the principal highway of the native traffic, now known

as Chitpore road, Cossaitolla gullie, or Bentinck street, and Chowringhee road—the immemorial pilgrim path to Kali-gât.

Along both these thoroughfares the garden-houses of the wealthier of the company's merchants, and of the opulent native traders, were beginning to become numerous. Of these latter, the famous Pánjábi, *Omichánd*, was just then beginning a career in which he at length almost monopolized the intermediary trade between the country and the company, thus amassing prodigious wealth, until the system was in 1753 abolished in favour of that of rural Collectors. With the name of *Omichánd* we shall be concerned later. Somewhere in the neighbourhood lay the 'Company's garden'—an institution still existing in certain mofussil stations, whence the company's servants obtained allowances of fresh vegetables and fruit. Hamilton says:—

The company has also a pretty good garden that furnishes the Governor's table with herbage and fruits; and some fish ponds to serve his kitchen with good carp, calkops, and mullet.

The Governor had his official residence within the fort; and within the fort, Bellamy on his first arrival, most likely resided in one of the "convenient lodgings for factors and writers." If he were a bachelor he would have dined at the common table.

Of the social life of the period, Hamilton says:—

Most gentlemen and ladies in Bengal live both splendidly and pleasantly: the forenoons being dedicated to business and after dinner to rest, and in the evening recreate themselves in chaises or palanquins in the fields, or to gardens, or by water in their budgeroes, which is a convenient boat that goes swiftly with the force of oars. On the river sometimes there is the diversion of fishing or fowling, or both; and before night they make friendly visits to one another, when pride or contention do not spoil society, which too often they do among the ladies, as discord and faction do among men. . . . The garrison of Fort William generally consists of two or three hundred soldiers, more for to convey their fleet from Patna with the Company's saltpetre, and piece-goods, raw silk, and some opium belonging to other merchants, than for the defence of the fort.

The few years that had elapsed since these words were written cannot render them an unfair picture of the society in which Bellamy came to minister. What Hamilton has to say on religious matters and the polemics between High and Low Churchmen, which subsided into lethargy within the ensuing generation, has been given in the previous chapter.

The earliest reference to the new chaplain to be found in the local Consultations is under date of October 1726, when salary and

gratuity since his landing were ordered to be paid to 'The Revd. Mr. Jervis* Bellamy' at the fixed rates.

The next year on the 26th of August the Council opened and promulgated a Royal Charter constituting a Municipal Corporation in Calcutta, consisting of a mayor and nine aldermen, with power of holding a court with jurisdiction in all causes, civil, criminal and ecclesiastical,† in which an Englishman might be concerned—high treason only excepted.‡

The setting up of this jurisdiction marked a new era in the history of Calcutta, and it has become curiously linked with its parochial institutions from the early connection between the building in which the Court met and the Charity Fund of St. Anne's. At an early date the rent of the building known as the Court House is found to be, as it is to the present day, a mainstay of the charitable fund in the hands of the Clergy and Church-wardens, out of which the charity school was maintained. The old Charity School, nearly a century ago, absorbed the Free School and took its name. Over a century ago the old Court House was demolished, and St. Andrew's Presbyterian Kirk stands on its site, but Government still pay the monthly rent of 800 Sicca Rupees into the hands of the Clergy and Church-wardens of St. John's, and the Trustees now added to their Board as Governors of the United Charities now called "The Free School."

Writers differ much in accounting for the origin of the charity school: none, however, seem to fix the date of its beginning early enough. We have seen how that its establishment was a cherished project of Briercliffe and the S. P. C. K. in 1713. How that in 1720 the scheme after many checks was actually afoot and poor Thomlinson bequeathed Rs. 80 towards it and his widow gave Rs. 40. There can be no reason, therefore, to doubt but that one of the very first undertakings Bellamy found himself called upon to promote in Calcutta was that of the charity school. The impression left on the mind after reading the letters of 'an eminent merchant,' and of the chaplain himself, written to the S. P. C. K. in January and February 17 $\frac{3}{4}$, is that though the school-House was only then recently finished, the School had been somewhere in existence for some time before.

* His Christian name is found spelled variously:—*Gervase, Jervis, Jervus, Gervus*. He himself always signed *Gervus*.

† e.g., Probate and the administration of intestate estates and wardship of minors.

‡ The Company's official called the Zemindar, still retaining jurisdiction in all purely native suits (as well as the duty of collecting the local revenue from fees, *farms*, ground-rents, tolls, &c.).

The charity school was first supported out of the income of the 'Charity Stock' of the Church. The origin of this property must be sought very early in the history of the chaplaincy. At Fort St. George, while the Bengal factories were its dependencies,* an institution of overseers of the poor existed, whose funds arose partly from fines levied upon English officials of the factories who remained out late at night, who swore profanely, or who neglected attendance at Divine worship. The levying of these fines must have ceased in the dissolution of manners in the early years of the Calcutta factory, and local paupers had in 1693 stipends from the Company's cash. With the improvement of parochial organization on the consecration of the church in 1709, such administration of charity passed, we must presume, naturally into the hands of the Select Vestry, with whom money must have slowly accumulated after the sacred building was finished and furnished, because all expenditure for repairs and establishment must have been borne by the Company, and the rubric required a collection to be made at each celebration of the Eucharist—which collection was primarily intended as *alms for the poor*. To the present day a *Parish* poor fund, administered from time out of mind by the Select Vestry of St. John's, as distinct from endowed and other poor funds existing in the Church, is called. 'The Sacramental Fund,' although it so happens that for a long time past no money collected at the Offertory ever goes into it.

To the Eucharistic alms we must add legacies and donations, which would increase as the idea of the school was agitated and approved.

'Into that fund,' writes *Asiaticus*, in 1802—who was an old gentleman who remembered Calcutta so far back as 1758:—

as I have been informed, went the sacramental collection, and fees for the Palls, which I know to have been of three rates 40, 25, and 12 ar. rs. The Palls being kept at the expence of the charity fund.

Whether Bellamy actually found when he arrived a school maintained out of the church charity fund or not, there can be no doubt but that public interest in such an institution was sufficiently stimulated during his first three years to produce means of building a spacious and handsome school-house in which to accommodate eight foundationers and forty day-scholars—and also income enough from the invested stock to provide for the tuition of them all and the entire living of the eight. It is likely that the first school-master—unless the parish clerk had that charge†—was *Aquiere*, the Goanese Friar of

* See page 9.

† "Buried 1728, December 18th, Christopher Curson, Parish Clerk."

St. Francis whom Bellamy received, *circa* 1730, into the Church of England, and who is alluded to in the latter's letter quoted with another of 'an eminent merchant,' in the *First Annual Report* of the S. P. C. K., A.D., 1733, Appendix III. This passage is the very earliest allusion to the charity school as an existing institution that has yet come to light; it here follows:—

An eminent Merchant at Fort William in Bengal, by a letter dated 3rd January 173 $\frac{1}{2}$, thanks the Society for their letter of the 6th March 173 $\frac{1}{2}$, and the packet of books accompanying it.

which shows plainly enough that Bellamy found devout laymen to support him in plans of religious edification as well as of temporal benevolence—

—That their Charity School-House at Calcutta is now finished and it is a handsome, spacious building which he hopes may answer the use it is designed for, at least he shall contribute all he can towards it.

In view of the tradition presently to be dealt with, which connects the name of *Mr. Richard Bouchier* with the charity school, we may assume with some confidence that this "eminent merchant" was this *Mr. Bouchier*, then second of Council and Master Attendant of the Port. He became afterwards, 1750 to 1760, Governor of Bombay. But it is plain that, though he must have opened his purse generously for the building of the school-house, that tradition quite errs in saying that he himself built any house as an endowment of the charity fund.

The passage proceeds—

—That there are 8 boys on the foundation and about 40 other scholars. That he has enquired into the originals of the nations and customs around about him.—

This suggests that in previous correspondence with the writer, the S. P. C. K. had asked for such information—

—And has had such different accounts that he could form but little judgment from them. But as to the *Cashmeers*, they are a peculiar people and by many believed to be a part of the dispersed *Jews*; they having *Solomon* on record amongst them.

Mr. Gervas Bellamy, Chaplain at Bengal, by a letter dated 24th February 173 $\frac{1}{2}$, thanks the Society for their letter and packet of books by the last ships, that a very handsome and commodious edifice is erected there for a Charity School in which 8 boys are maintained and clothed after the manner of the Blue-coat boys in Christ's Hospital.

Thus we shall find blue cloth for their uniform asked for of the company at a later date. We may infer from this that the Calcutta charity boys were habited in blue cassocks; and as we cannot add the yellow stockings and buckled shoes to their costume, we may safely

assume that they went barefoot as their successors in the Free School do to the present day,—and bareheaded too:—

—That it is designed to be enlarged when their stock will admit of it, the progress of which shall be communicated to the Society in due season.

(Yet nothing more, alas! appears to have been printed in the Society's reports relative to Calcutta until 1766):—

—That some time ago *Padre Aquiare*, a Franciscan Mendicant brought up at Goa on the coast of Malabar arrived there and applied himself to him as Chaplain, signifying his great desire to embrace the Protestant religion, upon which I acquainted the Governor with it who told him [*sic*] if the said Aquiare would take the oaths proper on such an occasion he should meet with suitable encouragement; which accordingly he did and receives out of the Church money Rs. 30 per month for his subsistence.

Though the employment of this man in the capacity of school-master is not mentioned, it is not likely he was allowed to enjoy his stipend in idleness; and teaching boys who, no doubt, spoke his vernacular far better than they did English, would be an obvious employment for him.

Thus by the end of 1731, the charity school was on a permanent footing, sufficiently endowed and established in its own spacious house.

The earliest allusion to the charity yet discovered in the local records of Government is in an account current of the Mayor's Court, dated November 1st, 1753, and is as follows:—

Dr.—To paid to the Trustees of the charity school for apartments for the records for 6 months at 30 Arcot Rupees per mensem = Rs. 180. Batla 14-6-6 = Current Rs. 194-6-6. [So also the next November.]

Again in the account recorded under date April 11th, 1755—

Paid to the Trustees of the charity for apartments for the Records for 6 months Rs. 198.

The next of these Mayor's Court accounts appears to be that of June 30th, 1759, where the corresponding item runs:—

Dr.—To 6 month's House-rent for the use of the *Town Hall* at 30 Current Rupees per mensem Rs. 180.

The next reference to this rent is in an application dated January 18th, 1762, from "the Ministers and Church-wardens" to the Council for an increase of rent for the *Court House*. They suggested Rs. 2,000 a year, the church stock undertaking to discharge the cost of repairs. This was sanctioned and the rent was regularly paid at that rate. The last time on which the item for rent appears in the Mayor's Court accounts is on April 16th, 1764, where it runs as

'Current Rs. 2,000 being one year's rent of the *Town House* from 1st January 1763.' After this date the payment was taken over by the 'company's cash;' the Mayor and Aldermen ceasing to charge it against revenue. This rate of rent continued until 1775, when the Governor-General and Council proposed "to rent the entire house called the Court House on a lease for a certain number of years at a fixed annual rent."—(It was wanted for the use of the new Supreme Court of Judicature.) What was agreed upon is not on record, but by August of 1776 the Church-wardens are found applying for an increase of rent, which was then at the rate of Current Rs. 4,160 a year. This was not, it would seem, granted until January 19th, 1778, when the rent for the whole premises was raised to sicca Rs. 800 a month,—the payment still monthly drawn from the Treasury by the Governors of the Free School.

From the foregoing it is evident that the building variously called 'the Court House,' 'the Town House,' or 'the Town Hall,'—so well known to all explorers of the bygone life of Calcutta—was none other than the Charity School house built by public subscription and the aid of the Charity stock by the Chaplain and Church-wardens in 1731: that the Mayor's Court having by that time accumulated a good store of records hired apartments in the building to preserve them in at Arcot Rupees 30 a month. Not many years later, at a date unknown, it is pretty evident also that two things occurred—the one that the Mayor's Court began to meet in the apartments thus hired, and the other that the School was withdrawn from the premises and housed elsewhere—for in Wills' map, drawn in 1753, the building is merely entitled 'the Court House.'—And *Asiaticus*, speaking of it under the same name, merely remarks, without any allusion to its scholastic origin, "The building did not appear to be of late construction, when I saw it in January 1758." When the Vestry ceased to use the house for school purposes it, without doubt, began, as it certainly did after the resuscitation of Calcutta, to let the portions of the house not occupied by the Corporation, for public purposes—Assemblies, Balls, and Lotteries—to the great advantage of the charity stock.

Plain as the history of the possession of the 'Old Court House' by the Chaplains and Church-wardens of Calcutta, and of the origin of their charity stock thus appears to be,—it was a standing puzzle to the curious of a century ago. There were two theories to account for them—the former is found in the minutes of the Select Vestry of the

28th June 1787, ordered to be made public and published accordingly in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 5th of July.

After reciting that the Church-wardens are considered to be overseers of the poor, and in that capacity have the superintendence of funds of the charity school, the minutes proceed :—

With respect to the original establishment of the Charity Fund, the information of the Vestry is very incomplete and as no proceedings of former Vestries nor any documents whatever (except the public Registers and an account from the executors of the will of the last Church Warden) have been delivered to the present Church Wardens they are obliged to rely on the reports of others for the truth of the information they have received concerning the origin of the Fund. *This is said to have commenced in the Restitution money granted by the Nawab Jaffier Ally Cawn in consequence of the demolition of the old Church in 1756 when Calcutta was taken by Surajah Dowla.* The amount, which is not exactly ascertained, was converted to the use of a charitable institution existing at that time for the support and education of Twenty Boys, the children of British subjects in indigent circumstances.

In the passage, italicised above, the enquirers are greatly at fault. The contemporaneous abstract of claims on account of losses in 1756* contains no claim on account of either Church, Court-House, or School-house; nor has any trace of such been yet found in any other part of the transactions connected with the appropriation of the Nawab's Restitution money. As for the *Charity stock* it was not lost, though the certificates were, and on the 27th June 1757, the Council ordered duplicate promissory notes for the whole amount, Rs. 20,018, to be granted to 'the Wardens of the Parish.' The minutes proceed :—

The famous Omichund is reported to have made a donation to this charity of twenty or thirty thousand rupees but no certain account has been obtained of it. *Omichund bequeathed to the charity the rent of a house used at one period for the charity school* but afterwards let to the Company under the name of the Town Hall. It is now known by name of the Old Court House, and has undergone various additions and improvements at the Company's expence, and the expence of the inhabitants.

In the passage in italics the name of Omichánd (who died in 1763) is curiously brought in,—the fact that the house was built by the Vestry itself was in 1787 wholly unsuspected.

The other legend is found at a later date in the pages of *Asiaticus*, 1802, who says :—

Mr. Bouchier built the Old Court House, as it stood before the additions which were made to it in 1765 and on different occasions afterwards. He gave it to the Company on condition that Government should pay 4000 arcot rupees per annum to support a charity school and for other benevolent purposes.

* Bengal Public Consultations, India Office. Range 1. No. 29, p. 360.

This confused and erroneous tradition was accepted by *Asiaticus* and by all later writers. And this appears the more strange when we find a letter of Mr. Charles Weston (son of a Recorder of the Mayor's Court in its earliest years and some time Vestry Clerk) on the subject, dated May 12th, 1787—a letter quoted in full by *Asiaticus* himself, in which the truth about the matter is most exactly stated. He says—

The old court house, (called the town hall) was formerly a lower-roomed house, and I always heard it belonged to the Charity; the first foundation whereof, I believe, was by subscription and its support also. The charity boys were lodged and educated there, and the whole annual expence of twenty children, I believe, did not exceed rupees 2,400 about 40 or 45 years ago I mean current or arcot rupees as the siccas were not current till after the year 1757 when the English gained the battle of Plassey.

But the Vestry, who also had this letter before them in June 1787, had also rejected this opinion of the origin of their ownership in the Court House—though there certainly was no one then living in Bengal better qualified to judge of the matter than its writer. They favoured Omichánd, while *Asiaticus* adhered to Bourchier.

In the year 1737, a furious cyclone visited Calcutta, the date of it is usually given as midnight between October 11th and 12th—a reckoning probably arrived at by translating the 'old' into the 'new style.' In this storm the whole of the steeple of St. Anne's above the level of the nave roof was carried away. It was already in a weak condition, having been severely cracked by lightning in 1724.

Mr. C. R. Wilson has discovered and communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society* a contemporary account of the famous storm of 1737. It is contained in a letter from Francis Russell, a member of the Calcutta Council, and is dated the last day of that year. The letter speaks of—

The dreadful hurricane we had here the 30th September at night;
and continues—

Such a Scheme of horror as that night was I never saw or heard off Such Terrible gust of wind like the loudest thunder and torrents of rain that I expected every moment the house I live in which is I believe the Strongest in the town wou'd have fallen on my head the noise was so violent above Stairs that myself and family was obliged to go down and stay below till morning with poor Mrs. Wastell and her children who had fled to our house for Shelter the doors and winders of hers being burst from the walls, but good God what Sight was the town and river in the morning not a ship but the *Duke of Dorsett* to be seen in the river were the evening before was above twenty-nine sails of vessels great and small many being drove ashore Some broke to pieces

* Journal, January 1898.

and others founder'd and this which is Scarse creditable in a river hardly a mile wide, there was no ebb tide for near twenty-four hours, our church steeple was blown down as also eight or ten English houses and numbers belonging to the black Merchants the whole town looked like a place that had been bombarded by an enemy, Such a havock did it make that tis impossible to find words to express it all our beautifull shady roads laid bare which will not be the like again this twenty years Inclosed is a list of the Shipping with the Damage each Sustained which I forgot to inclose to Captain Gough so you'll taken an opportunity to show it him I thank God I have no greater Share in this calamity than what my proportion of refitting the freight ships drove ashore will amount to which may be about five or six thousands rupees for my part of all additional charges and about half that in Damago done my houses in town and country, I saved all my fine trees in the country that were blown down by replacing them while the earth was soft as they might have done by those on the roads had the samo care been taken all our boats and small craft being also destroyed rendered impossible for us to help for some days our distress'd ships who lay ashore by the Governours Garden three miles below the town except the *Newcastle* who lay high ashore and bilged over against the Fort no was the least assistance afforded our own ships till all possible assistance had been first sent the Comp^y ships and I believe they were the first afloat except the *Hallifax* who cou'd not be got off till her goods was out tho' I reckon this will hardly meet credit in England, and I am sure no men in the world wou'd in the distress we were in have got men and boats and necessarys sooner then we did tho' I believe many thought they were not served soon enough and yet wou'd give no grains of allowance for the Difficulties we labour'd under in being forced to get boat from remote places the Storm had not reached.

Asiaticus gives what purports to be an extract descriptive of the storm from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of the following year. A passage which contains this extraordinary statement:—*The high and magnificent steeple of the English Church sank into the ground without breaking.* This professing extract continues to be repeated contentedly, and without acknowledgment, in popular accounts of old Calcutta to the present time. The passage, however, only agrees in substance with the actual note in the *Gentleman's Magazine* which reads as follows, and contains no allusion to the Church steeple!—

On September 30th last happened a furious hurricane in the Bay of Bengal, attended with a very heavy rain which raised 15 inches of water in 5 hours, and a violent earthquake which threw down abundance of houses and, as the storm reached 80 leagues up the river, it is computed that 20,000 ships, barks, sloops, boats, canoes, &c., have been cast away. A prodigious quantity of cattle of all sorts, a great many tygers and several rhinoceroses were drowned even a great many caymans were stifled by the furious agitation of the waters and an innumerable quantity of birds was beat down into the river by the storm. Two English ships of 500 tons were thrown into a village about 200 fathoms from the bed of the river Ganges, broke to pieces, and all the people drowned pell mell

amongst the inhabitants and cattle. Barks of 60 tons were blown 2 leagues up the land over the tops of high trees. The water rose in all 40 feet higher than usual. The English ships which drove ashore and broke to pieces were the *Decker*, *Devonshire* and *Newcastle*, and the *Pelham* is missing. A French ship was drove on shore and bulged: after the wind and waters abated they opened the hatches and took out several bales of merchandize, &c., but the man who was in the hold to sling the bales suddenly ceased working nor by calling him could they get any reply, on which they sent down another but heard nothing of him, which very much added to their fear so that for some time no one would venture down; at length one more hardy than the rest went down and became silent and inactive as the two former to the astonishment of all. They then agreed by lights to look down into the hold which had a great quantity of water in it and to their great surprise they saw a huge aligator staring as expecting more prey. It had come in through a hole in the ship's side and it was with difficulty they killed it, when they found the three men in the creature's belly.*

After giving what he supposed to be a transcript of this original passage—whoever procured it for him partly condensed and partly extended it at his own fancy—*Asiaticus* adds in a note to the name of Mr. Charles Weston:—

Mr. Charles Weston, the son of the Recorder of the Mayor's Court, was born in Calcutta in 1731, in a House then opposite to where the Turret Bazar now stands. He recollects the great storm and inundation of 1737, as it compelled his family to quit their house. The steeple of the Church he states to have fallen prostrate, a more probable position to have fell in than that stated in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

The Magazine, however, as we have seen, made no such statement as he supposed—still it is quite plain that the steeple was blown down and did not go to pieces in the fall. We may conjecture that it was a timber structure sheathed in copper or lead. The deluge of mud and wreckage washed over the settlement by the 40-foot tide, when the ebb of the Hooghly had been forced back for four and twenty hours, may have partly concealed the prostrate spire, and so have given origin to the tradition that it sank into the ground. This legend may in turn have given rise to that of an earthquake having accompanied the cyclone.

The earliest account of this famous catastrophe is found in the 'Consultations of the Fort William Council,' and there we only read as follows:—

On the 30th September there was a great storm which drove several ships ashore. The Mohanna flag-staff at Ballasore was blown down.†

* Gent. Mag., vol. viii. 1738, p. 321.

† Bengal Pub. Cons, India Off., vol. xii, p. 323.

This is all!—no mention of the 200 ruined houses in Calcutta, nor of the 20,000 river craft said to have been lost, nor of the 300,000 native souls, the record of whose fate is another of the pieces of information which *Asiaticus* imagined to have been preserved in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

The story of the cyclone of 1737 affords, in fact, a curious example of rapid enrichment, by its narrators, of a popular legend.

By comparison of early maps and sketches it is evident that the whole fabric of the Church was much shaken by the hurricane, and that it required to be at once heavily buttressed on either side. For some few years the stump of the steeple stood uncovered, save by a row of urns or some such ornament, and then a stage of masonry was added to it, and this was surmounted by an elegant bell-cote of wood, and so it remained until 1756.*

In 1750 the Council proposed to the Court the propriety of rebuilding the steeple at a cost of about Rs. 8,000. To this the Court replied:—

We consent to the building of the Church Steeple at our expense, but you must be very careful not to exceed the sum you mention.†

There is no trace of this work having been executed; probably the expenditure sanctioned was found to be too small.

* See Brit. Mus. King's Maps cxv. 40. G. and a view in *Parish of Bengal*.

† Letter Council to Court, January 13th, 1750. Reply of the Court, January 23rd, 1750.

CHAPTER VIII.

1737 to 1756.

IN the conduct of the services at St. Anne's on Sundays it is likely that instrumental music was provided by the Fort Band, and the vocal led by the parish clerk and the charity boys. A Mr. Eyre,* however, at some time, perhaps within five years after the fall of the steeple, got out from England and presented to the Church a small organ. This organ stood in a loft over the west entrance, and had a brief existence and a truly Indian extinction. Some complaint respecting the disappearance of this organ reached the Court at home, who thereupon wrote out to Bengal as follows:—

It has been represented to us that some time before Mr. Eyre left Calcutta he made a present of an organ to the Church which cost him near one hundred and fifty pounds, and that Mr. Bellamy under the pretence that the white-ants having got into the wood-work of it, had taken the liberty to give it away to a gentleman who directly repaired it. Let Mr. Bellamy know that we highly resent his unwarrantable proceeding, and that we insist upon his restoring the organ to the Church, replacing it with another as good, or paying the full value of it.†

The enquiry of the Bengal Council is recorded in their own graphic narrative:—

In obedience to our Hon'ble masters, concerning the Organ, we sent for the Reverend Mr. Bellamy who declared that when Mr. Frankland applied to him for it, that he told him that it was not in his power to give it, but wished it was removed from thence as Mr. Pearson informed him it was eaten by white-ants and the Church might be endangered by keeping it there. He further added that in the gallery where it stood, the marks of the white-ants are to be seen to this day.

Mr. Frankland being called before us avouched the truth of what Mr. Bellamy said, and declared that being desirous of taking the dimensions of the several parts of that Organ, in order to complete one he was trying to have made at that time, was the reason of his applying to Messrs. Bellamy and Wynch‡ to let him remove those parts of it which then might still remain sufficient to take the dimension; but on Mr. Bellamy's telling him it was out of his power to give it, he sent his carpenter to the Church to take the dimensions,

* Possibly Mr. Robert Eyre, the younger, whose marriage is registered on the 8th April 1740. Another merchant of this name was buried on 4th October 1739: another was Chief at Patna.

† General Letter to Bengal, 23rd January 1759.

‡ This dates the attempt to build an organ locally as between 1743 and 1747.

where on their touching any part thereof it immediately fell to pieces. The white-ants having left nothing but the outside. That all that remained of the organ were a few broken metal pipes and some of the ornamental parts with the glass doors, which were not entirely destroyed as they were made of teak; and declares that, so far from having an organ, shortly after that on finding he could not accomplish one, he laid aside all thoughts of it till a gentleman who came from England near three years after offered to assist him in finishing it.*

Thus, if Mr. Frankland's instrument was intended for the Church it would have been in use there somewhere about 1749.

Mr. [Robert] Wynch was the first of the colleagues allowed by the company to Mr. Bellamy in the Bengal chaplaincy; he had been chaplain at Fort St. George since 1731, and in about September of 1743 was transferred to Calcutta. The Marhratta scare was then in full intensity, and the native population had already nearly surrounded the three towns by the celebrated moat which bore the name of their dreaded enemies. An old map in the British Museum† assignable to this period shows the 'Town of Calcutta' within which alone the three Christian nations (English, Armenian and Portuguese) resided completely fenced by pallisades. The bailley within these defences still remains in the following circuit of streets:—Fancy Lane, Larkin's Lane, British Indian Street, Mangoe Lane, Mission Row, Lall Bazar, Radha Bazar, Ezra Street, Amratolla Street, Aga Kerbulla Mahomed Lane, Portuguese Church Lane, Armenian Street, Bonfield's Lane.‡

During the whole of his brief ministry in Calcutta the scare lasted. After a lull of a few years it broke out again in 1747, and the council were compelled to take the question of fortifications even more seriously in hand than they had yet done. The Marhrattas never came, however, and the sense of danger presently died away.

Beyond certain particulars of Marriages and Baptisms solemnised by Wynch, almost nothing whatever is known about this chaplain save that he arrived in Calcutta a widower with three step-children, and such other particulars respecting his relatives, friends, and property as may be inferred from his Will, which is as follows:—

In the Name of God Amen. I Robert Wynch, of Fort William in the East Indies, Clerk, do make this my last will and testament in manner and form following. I recommend my immortal soul to the mercies of my Almighty Creator, trusting alone in the merits of my Gracious Redeemer for the forgiveness of my sins, and I order my body to be buried near Mrs. Mary Stratton.§

* Consultations, Dec. 9th, 1751.

† King's Lib. cxv, 41.

‡ See *Parish of Bengal*, pp. 43—48.

§ She had been buried on the previous 12th of March.

Also I will and bequeath all my personal and real estate (of what nature soever it be) after my just debts are by them paid, to my dear nephew *Alexander Wynch* and my beloved friend *Mr. John Stratton* in trust. [His heirs were the three children of his deceased friend *Mr. Francis Rous*, and his wife *Margaret* afterwards my beloved wife, and now deceased, viz., *Anne*, *Mary*, and *Francis*. He leaves 40 pagodoes to his executors for mourning. The witnesses were *David Robertson* and *William Forth*.]

This Will is dated the 15th September 1748, and Robert Wynch was buried on the 29th.

Shortly after Wynch's death the factory council appointed as his successor a clergyman who happened to be visiting the settlement; perhaps,—like Thomas Yate some twenty years later,—as travelling Tutor to some youth in the Naval Service: this man was the *Rev. Charles Webber, B.D.*, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford [B.A., July 5th, 1733; M.A. June 19th, 1734; B.D. November 24th, 1744.] He was the son of the *Rev. Francis Webber* of Sherbrooke, Devon, and was born at Clist, Honiton, and matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, on April 3rd, 1728, at the age of 18. It is singular to discover that he was elected a Fellow of Exeter on 30th June 1731 before he graduated—on the 3rd July he was admitted to the College and one year later—still before he took any degree—he became a “full Fellow.”

Considering his rank and learning, therefore, he was a man whom the company might have been especially glad to have for one of its chaplains. However, he had one intolerable and incurable defect in the company's eyes,—he had presumed to visit its factories without a license. Consequently, when the council reported the new appointment, the court replied by the return packet—

Para. 30. Mr. Webber whom you appointed to succeed the *Rev. Mr. Wynch* deceased having no license from us to proceed to India must return to England by the first conveyance.

Webber had retained his fellowship while in India, and did not relinquish it until after he had been appointed (1st July 1761) Rector of Wolton in Northants. (He had accepted his fellowship apparently under a bond of £500 that he would resign it on becoming beneficed.) He died on the 29th of April 1764.

While ordering the deportation of Webber, the Court itself filled up the vacant second chaplaincy—

Para. 31. We have chose the *Rev. Mr. Robert Mapletoft, M.A.*, one of our Chaplains at Fort William with the usual salary and appointments who will proceed to his station in one of the ships designed directly to you this season.*

* *Bengal General Letter, London 30th, August 1749.*

Some time in the former half of 1750, therefore, Charles Webber must have been shipped home. Mr. Mapletoft arrived on the 7th of August of that year by the C. S., *London*, the Court having advanced him, as was usual, £50 to be paid by instalments from his salary.* He was then in the 27th year of his age.

This Robert Mapletoft was a member of Clare-College, Cambridge [B.A. 1743; M.A. 1748], and was in about his 27th year when he arrived. He came of an old family of priests, his paternal ancestors, since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, having been all in holy orders. A brother of his great-grandfather had been Dean of Ely. His great-grandmother, *Susanna*, nee *Collet*, was a near relative by blood of the well-known Nicholas Ferrars of Little Gidding.†

Robert's grandfather was the celebrated Rev. John Mapletoft—M.D. and D.D.—a Gresham Professor, a High Churchman, and the close friend of Robert Nelson. A daughter of this divine, Elizabeth—Robert's aunt—had married Dr. Francis Gastrell, Bishop of Chester, another of Robert Nelson's intimate correspondents. His father, John Mapletoft, was Rector of Byfield and of Broughton, in Northamptonshire. Considering the traditions of his family, it is fair to assume that Robert brought the best High Church principles to the service of religion in Bengal.

Bellamy seems to have made over to him the special charge of the Charity school, and by his energy the invested Charity stock was soon enlarged by fresh donations, and the school regulations improved. A letter of his to Government on these subjects exists :—

To the Hon'ble Roger Drake, Esq: President and Governor of Fort William, and Council.

Hon'ble Sir, and Sirs,—Being requested by the Trustees of the Charity Stock of this place to make an humble application to you for an order that the children upon the Foundation to the number of 12 and 14 may be supplied at the expense of the Honourable Company with a coat of blue Perpets or some ordinary cloth ; as also with stationery for the use of the School, I take the liberty of laying it before you, humbly hoping that your Honour and Council will comply with it, as we have lately endeavoured to increase the Stock by a fresh contribution and made some further regulations for the more effectual carrying into execution the

* *Bengal General Letter, 12th January 1749 (i.e. 1750 N. S.), para. 50.*

† This statement and much of the information relative to the Mapletofts included in this chapter are taken from the genealogical records of Arthur T. Pringle, Esq., Assistant Secretary to the Madras Government, a representative of the family, who has kindly furnished the writer with pedigrees in full detail. It is to be remarked, however, that Mr. John Shorthouse in his "John Inglesant" has adopted an account of the kindred of Little Gidding community inconsistent with the facts recorded in the Mapletoft pedigree.

original design, which was to educate children in the Protestant Religion and keep them so when they had got from under the master's care. A design which has hitherto been frustrated for want of taking proper obligations from their Parents or Guardians at the time of their admission; the inconvenience of which we have now provided against. We flatter ourselves this application will not appear unreasonable to you as it must be very evident that children well educated and instructed in the English language and accounts, may hereafter be of great service not only to the Gentlemen of this place, but to the Honourable Company also.

I am, with great respect, Hon'ble Sir, and Sirs,
your most obedient, humble servant,

R. MAPLETOFT.

*Calcutta, the 4th February, 1754.**

The Council granted both requests of this letter.†

The Council Minutes for this year furnish one other entry of interest to the present subject: pressure from home in the direction of religious discipline had told for good upon the ruling powers, and accordingly it was resolved:—

August 22.—Agreed that the servants, Covenanted and Military Officers be advised of the Company's orders with relation to their due attendance at Church, and required to give obedience thereto.

This, however, appears to have been the only definite action taken by the Council, in obedience to repeated orders from the Court, to repress by strong measures the vice and luxury of the Company's servants in Bengal, which had become notorious. The Court had written to the Council on the 8th of January 1752 (para. 104):—

Much has been reported of the great licentiousness which prevails in your place which we do not choose particularly to mention as the same must be evident to every rational mind. The evils resulting therefrom to those there and to the company cannot but be apparent, and it is high time proper methods be applied for producing such a reformation as comports with the Laws of sound Religion and Morality, which are in themselves inseparable. We depend upon you who are Principals in the management to set a real good example and to influence others to follow the same, and in such a manner as that Virtue, Decency and Order be well established, and thereby induce the natives around you to entertain the same High Opinion which they formerly had of English honour and integrity: a point of the highest moment to us as to yourselves, and if any are found so bad as not to amend their conduct in such instances as require it, we expect you do

* i.e. of a year reckoned as at present from 1st January.

The supputation of the year of our Lord in the Realm if not in the Church of England ceased in 1752 to begin on Lady Day. Compare note to *Kalendar of the Book of Common Prayer* printed before 1752.

† Cons. Feb. 4th, 1754, quoted in *Long's Selections*, No. 129.

faithfully represent the same to us for our treating them as becomes the welfare of the Company.

The levity with which this admonition was received is reprimanded in a letter of two years later, worded in stricter terms, and which the Council dared not wholly ignore.—This second despatch is dated 23rd January 1754 (paras. 80 and 81):—

We are well assured that the paragraph in our letter of the 8th January, 1752, relating to the prevailing licentiousness of your place, was received by many of our servants in superior stations with great contempt, and was the subject of much indecent ridicule, but whatever term you may give to our admonitions, call it Preaching or what you please, unless a stop is put to the present licentious career, we can have no dependence upon the integrity of our servants now or in future; for it is too melancholy a truth that the younger class tread too closely upon the heels of their superiors, and as far as their circumstances will admit, and even further copy bad examples which are continually before their eyes. After what has passed we cannot hope for much success by expostulation, we shall therefore make use of the authority we have over you as masters that will be observed if you value a continuance in our service and you are accordingly to comply most punctually with the following commands, *viz.*:—

(1.)—That the Governor and Council and all the rest of our servants both Civil and Military do constantly and regularly attend the Divine worship in Church every Sunday, unless prevented by sickness or some other cause, and that all the common soldiers who are not on duty or prevented by sickness be also obliged to attend.

(2.)—That the Governor and Council do carefully attend to the morals and manner of life of all our servants in general and reprove and admonish them where and whenever it shall be found necessary.

(3.)—That all our superior servants do avoid, as much as their several stations will admit of it, an expensive manner of living, and consider that as the Representatives of a body of merchants a decent frugality will be much more in character.

(4.)—That you take particular care that our young Servants do not launch into expense beyond their incomes, especially upon their just arrival. And we here lay it down as a standing and positive command that no writer be allowed to keep a Pallacko, Horse or Chaise during the term of his writership.

(5.)—That you set apart one day in every quarter of a year, and oftener if you find it necessary, to enquire into the general conduct and behaviour of all our servants before the Council, and enter the result thereof in your diary for our observation.

We do not think it necessary to give such a direction with regard to our servants in Council because we are, and always can be, well acquainted with their characters without a formal enquiry.

It was upon this that the Council passed the resolution of August 22nd already quoted, and they further replied to the Court in a submissive tone, yet insisting that Bengal Society was not so luxurious and

corrupt as had been rumoured, for the Court rejoined, January 31st, 1755 (para. 100):—

It was and still continues necessary that you are at all times ready to check and prevent the expensive manner of living and the strong bias to pleasure which, notwithstanding what you say to the contrary, we well know too much prevails amongst all ranks and degrees of our servants in Bengal. And we do assure you it will give us great satisfaction to find by your actions that we shall have no further reason to complain on this head.

We turn now to the domestic affairs of the two clergymen in Calcutta. Gervase Bellamy, the Senior Chaplain, was followed to Bengal by *Humphry Bellamy*, a member of Council in 1748, who returned home in 1749, his brother perhaps.

Gervase married a widow, *Mrs. Dorothy Pomfrett*, on the 24th November 1729, and had by her the following children:—

1. *Thomas*, baptized October 13th, 1730, who was Coroner of Calcutta as early as 1754. He died apparently in the siege, or at Fulta.

2. *William*, baptized October 29th, 1731.

3. *Dorothy*, baptized October 12th, 1733. She married—apparently during the miseries of Fulta—*Captain William Lampert*, Mariner, and died of a fever 1st December 1757.

4. *John*, baptized November 20th, 1735. His father in January 1748, sought to obtain a writership for this boy in one of the company's factories, and the Council recommended the application.* The court refused to grant the appointment, he being too young, and his qualifications had not been mentioned.† However, he obtained a commission in the company's army instead; for in January 1754 he is found, with the rank of Lieutenant, as Adjutant of Captain Robert Saunderson's company. He perished with his father in the Black Hole.

5. *Gervase*, baptized February 2nd, 1737. Buried May 28th, 1741.

6. *Ann-Martha*, baptized November 18th, 1740. She survived the siege of Calcutta and escaped to Madras, where the Chaplain, Mr. Robert Palk, at once collected a substantial sum for her support, and on the 31st of July 1756 deposited with the church-wardens 1150 pagodas for this purpose. By December 1757 she is reported to be the wife of Lieutenant Charles Palmer of the Bombay establishment and to be well off. By March 1759 she is reported dead. A balance of the

* Long's *Selections*, vol. i., No. 56.

† Genl. Letter to Bengal, 23 January, 1748.

fund was certified in 1773 not to be needed by Mrs. Palmer's son, then employed in Calcutta.*

7. *Robert*, baptized January 26th, 174 $\frac{1}{2}$. He also survived the siege.†

The Bellamys, at the close of the period with which we are concerned, were living in a large upper-roomed house standing in a garden on the site now occupied by the Medical Stores Office and godowns. This was their own property. Though the salaries and gratuities of the Bengal chaplains had not changed since the establishment of the factory, still it is likely that 'allowances' went on gradually increasing, and as the wealth of the place grew, fees grew also, so that we must think of both chaplains as living in easy, though not affluent circumstances, with their families. In 1753, January 3rd, Mrs. Bellamy was able to deposit on her own account, at interest with the company, Rs. 3,149-9-9, and by January 1756 she had Rs. 4,351-14-3 thus invested, and her husband's whole estate as shown by its account current, under the administration of Captain William Lampert, represented,‡ after payment of debts, Rs. 9,828-11-0; there was besides an outstanding claim of Rs. 16,200 against the Restitution money. His son John's estate had a similar claim for Rs. 1,400, and Thomas's for Rs. 648.§

Robert Mapletoft, the junior chaplain, besides studying the Portuguese which he was ordered to learn and which might be acquired in Calcutta, had soon after his arrival an ambition to be master of Persian. With this object he proposed to reside near the court of the Nawab at Moorshedabad. To his application for the necessary permission the Court replied in encouraging terms:—

It being intimated to us that the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft is desirous of residing some time in Cossimbazar to make himself master of the Persick Language, we do permit him to proceed thither accordingly, if he can be spared, and it is our earnest desire that as many of our servants as possible may get a competent knowledge of that language. Mr. Mapletoft may do us signal service by putting them into a proper method, and he is therefore desired to give them the necessary instructions in the course of learning it. Persick books are very scarce in England, however some we have procured which are consigned to you on one of

* I am indebted for these particulars to the researches of Mrs. Frank Penny of Fort St. George.

† See page 107.

‡ See Mayor's Court Ecclesiastical Suits. Nos. 16, 17 and 23.

§ Bengal Pub. Cons. Range i., No. 29, p. 360, India Office.

these ships. They are to be made use of by our servants from time to time as they are wanted, taking care they are always returned into your custody.*

However, it does not appear that Mapletoft carried out his project. Indeed, his circumstances changed much ere the Court's letter arrived, for on the 31st of March 1753, he had married a widow with children. This lady was Sarah, widow of *James Irwin*, of the H. E. I. C.'s Service, who had died on the previous 20th of June. She had at first been the wife of Captain *Henry Palmer*, a private merchant, who died in 1743. By each of her previous husbands she had children, some of whom were surviving when she married Mapletoft. Her maiden name was *Beal*, and she was born, according to her tombstone, in St. Helena. She was baptized, however, in Calcutta, where her origin is expressly specified in this form: "*Baptized 1728, February 5th, Sarah, daughter of Mary Beal, from St. Helena.*" The month previous to her marrying Mapletoft she obtained a company's promissory note bearing interest for C Rs. 16,895, part of her second husband's estate, so she brought a little money into her third house-keeping. Mapletoft had no house of his own; he rented one at Rs. 30 a month.

Robert and Sarah Mapletoft had two children—

1. *Anna-Maria*, baptized March 12th, 1754.
2. *Robert*, baptized October 30th, 1755. He died in his grandfather's house at Byfield in his 7th year—1761.

And Mrs. Mapletoft was near upon giving birth to a third when the Nawab besieged Calcutta.

To the scenes of that horrible calamity, so far as they concern the persons connected with the ecclesiastical establishment, we must now recur, the chief authority being of course *Holwell's Indian Tracts*. It will be needless to rehearse the events that led to the attack by the Nawab Suraj-ud-Daula, nor in any detail those of the siege itself; they are too well known to every reader of Indian History.

Trinity Sunday, June 13th, 1756, must have been the last Sunday on which Divine worship was offered in St. Anne's, though the daily office may have continued till the Friday. The early days of the week were occupied at Fort William with the military preparations so long disastrously deferred. Among these was the enrolment of the company's civilians, the European inhabitants, and other Christians, as a volunteer Militia in which Mapletoft was commissioned as

* Bengal Genl. Letter, 24th January 1753.

a 'Captain-lieutenant.' Holwell thus speaks of him and some of his brother officers as—

The Reverend Mr. Mapletoft, Captain-lieutenant, Captain Henry Wedderburn, *Lieutenant of the first company, and ensigns Sumner and Charles Douglas, all of them gentlemen who had failed in no part of duty, either as officers or soldiers, in the defence of the place.

On the *Wednesday* the enemy first appeared at Chitpore, but the battery there dispersed them, and they retreated upon Dum-Dum. On the *Thursday* the English burnt the bazars in front and south of the fort. On the *Friday* the enemy re-appeared and swarmed in incredible numbers all round the town. The English outposts were speedily driven in, and the church and all other buildings being abandoned, all survivors of the Christian community shut themselves up within the fort,—still dominated as it was by the church and adjacent houses. These were at once occupied by the Moors, and the case of the besieged was found to be nearly desperate. The council of war that afternoon ordered the embarkation of the English women on board the *Dodaty* and other ships then lying off the fort. Among the ladies, whom reluctance to quit their husbands kept them ashore until the latest moment, were Mrs. Roger Drake, wife of the governor, Mrs. Mapletoft, Mrs. Coales, wife of a civil servant and militia ensign, and Mrs. Wedderburn, wife of the gallant captain already mentioned. It was about 11 o'clock at night when Holwell himself persuaded these devoted ladies to take refuge with their young children on board the *Diligence*, a ship, probably of his own; at any rate it was, as he says, under his direction: shortly afterwards he sent a French officer, Monsieur le Beaume, and three native servants to attend on and protect them. All that night the preparations for meeting the now inevitable storming of the fort went on. Daybreak of the *Saturday* saw Mapletoft working as a coolie, native labour being now quite unprocurable. Holwell says:—

Early on the morning of the 19th the President, Mr. Mackett, the Revd. Mr. Mapletoft, myself and others, were employed in cutting open the bales of cotton, and filling it in bags, to carry upon the parapets.

This Mr. Mackett had left his wife dangerously ill on board the *Dodaty* the previous night; she had striven to detain him, but he had resisted all entreaties and hastened back to the defence of the fort. Now, however, when the works in hand were somehow finished, he begged leave to board the *Dodaty* for five minutes to see his wife.

* Of the Company's Regular Military Establishment.

Thereupon leave was given to him and to other gentlemen similarly situated to visit their wives and children, and deposit in their care their papers and valuables. Mapletoft took advantage of this reasonable and humane permission and pushed off to the *Diligence*. These gentlemen had not the slightest idea, as Mr. Holwell tells us he is well assured, of what was about to happen. Mapletoft cannot have been long with his wife and children before: at about 10 or 11 o'clock, two boats were seen hastily making for the *Dodaly*, and in them were governor Drake and the senior commandant and other gentlemen shamefully deserting—there appears to be no other possible interpretation to be put upon their conduct—their charge, their countrymen, and the fort. These men protested that the fort was abandoned and the rout general, and by their order every ship, vessel, and boat lying off the fort immediately cast off her moorings, and dropped down to a safe distance with the ebbing tide.

Thus weakened and disheartened, all hope of retreat being cut off, the only ship left higher up the river went aground and was useless; the little garrison, now under the command of Holwell, nevertheless continued the defence in the most valiant manner. By noon on the *Sunday* there were but 150 men left, and 50 of these were wounded. By 6 o'clock that evening the Nawab was in possession of Fort William.

We shall now extract from Holwell's *Genuine Narrative of the deplorable Deaths of the English Gentlemen and others who were Suffocated in the Black Hole, &c.*, such passages, and such only, as concern the persons connected with the chaplaincy.*

And first, before they were driven into the prison:—

I must (says Holwell) do honour to the memory of a man, to whom I had in many instances been a friend, and who on this occasion demonstrated his sensibility of it in such a degree worthy of a much higher rank. His name was *Leech*, the company's smith and clerk of the parish; this man had made his escape when the moors entered the fort, and returned just as it was dark, to tell me he had provided a boat, and would ensure my escape if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he had then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put over us took but very slight notice of us). I thanked him in the best terms I was able; but told him it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill re-pay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shown to me; and, that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would: but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time, to which he gallantly replied, that 'then he was resolved to share mine and would not leave me.

* For a list of the victims see Appendix D.

This brave and devoted man was found next morning among the dead.

When night came on the whole 146 prisoners were forced into the 'Black Hole'—'a cube of 18 feet' with two small grated windows only. Some awful hours passed, and a third were dead, and Holwell forced his way to the back of the chamber that he might rest upon a stone sill and so die also:—

Here, he says, my poor friend *Mr. Edward Eyre* came staggering over the dead to me, and with his usual coolness and good nature, asked me how I did; but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply.

Later still—

I found a stupor coming on a pace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man the *Reverend Mr. Gervas Bellamy*, who lay dead with *his son, the lieutenant*, hand-in-hand, near the southernmost wall of the prison.

Mr. Edward Eyre was brother of a Dean of Wells and of a *Mr. Robert Eyre* (senior) Chief of Patna.—*Mr. Bellamy* was in the 66th year of his age.

The parish clerk above so honourably mentioned was one *Thomas Leech*. Holwell befriended *Martha*, his widow,* whom he must have helped home from Fulta. In 1758 she was living at Culham, in Oxfordshire, and Holwell was acting as her attorney in Calcutta. Leech's estate was a very humble one, but Holwell recovered of it Company's Rupees 103-5, wages due to him as clerk. This sum looks like Arcot Rs. 16 a month since Christmas, reckoned to the day of his death, with the usual *Batta* of 8 per cent. added. He got in for the widow Company's Rupees 81 from Mapletoft's estate, and sold by public outcry his slave-boy for Company's Rupees 108-4-3, and his slave-girl for Company's Rupees 48-9-6.

Of the Bellamys after the re-taking of Calcutta in 1757, only three individuals can be traced as surviving—

Ann-Martha, who died apparently in 1758, aged 18, and left all she had to her husband, one Captain Charles Palmer.†

Dorothy (the younger), wife of Captain William Lampert, died, as has already been mentioned, on December 1st, 1757.

Robert Bellamy, on 22nd April 1757, being a minor and an orphan, prayed and obtained William Lampert to be constituted his guardian. On the 22nd of April 1760, being still a minor, he similarly obtained one Robert Handle (clerk)‡ as his guardian, Lampert having

* Inferred from *M. C. Eccl. Suit*, No. 115.

† *M. C. Eccl. Suits*, No. 209 and page 102.

‡ i.e. Attorney of the Court.

died the year before. And on the 14th of October 1766, he is found petitioning the Mayor's Court for leave to sue *in forma pauperis* for the restitution to him of a sum of money which one William Magee had drawn out of the Company's treasury, but which, he said, had been placed there by his deceased mother whose sole surviving child he was.*

The fugitives from Calcutta sought refuge about thirty miles down the River near the 'despicable village' of Fulta. They there were forced to linger for some six months, living partly on board the shipping and partly in tents and huts ashore.† Surgeon Ives, of H. M. S. *Kent*, who saw them there the next December, says:—

They were crowded together in the most wretched habitations, clad in the meanest apparel, and for almost five months had been surrounded by sickness and disease, which made strange havoc among them.

Robert Mapletoft was among those who died. He was in his 33rd year.‡ His wife and her children found a refuge in the house of the Dutch Governor of Chinsura,§ Adrian Bisdom, who, when the expected child was born, with his wife Amelia-Constantia, stood god-parents at her christening. The child was named with allusion to her sponsors and mother, *Constantia-Adriana-Sally* (? *Sarah*).

Mrs. Mapletoft found herself in so great poverty on the return of the English to Calcutta that her distress was intimated to the Court of Directors, who wrote (3rd March 1758, para. 64) commending her to the care of the Council. It appears that her three Irwin children had a provision,|| but her three youngest were penniless.

It was the liberality of the Company, doubtless, that enabled Mrs. Mapletoft to send, as she did, the three children of her third family to England. She lodged them with their grandfather at Byfield. There the boy died. She herself seems to have remained in India to look after the affairs of her other children. At a later period her two Mapletoft daughters joined her, and she married Anna-Maria in 1770 to William Wynne, Secretary to Government; and Constantia-Adriana-Sally to Captain Robert Patton, A.-D.-C. to Governor-General Warren Hastings, by whom she had seventeen children. The tables of descent of the offspring of these two ladies down to the present day have been preserved with extraordinary accuracy, and comprise a very great number of individuals.

* M. C. Ecol. Suite, No. 28.

† *Ives's Voy. &c.*

‡ Photograph from a portrait in *Perish of Bengal*.

§ From family records.

|| Consultations August 16th, 1757.

Mrs. Mapletoft lived long in Calcutta and saw her children's children. At length she returned to her birthplace to die, and the second of the following two epitaphs is read on a tablet in St. James's Church, Jamestown, St. Helena. The former is in Byfield Church, Northamptonshire.

(1)

To the Memory of
THE REV. JOHN MAPLETOFT, M.A.,
late Rector of this parish
and of Broughton in this County
who died May 25th, 1763,
in the 76th year of his age.

And of
ANN his wife,
daughter of RICHARD WALKER, ESQ.,
of Harborough
in the County of Leicester,
and MARY his wife
who died December 26th, 1781
in the 91st year of her age.

Also of
THE REV. ROBERT MAPLETOFT, M.A.,
their eldest son
who was Chaplain to the
Hon. East India Company at Calcutta,
and died there 1766
in the 33rd year of his age.

And of
two of their infant children
of the name of HUGH.

Likewise of
ROBERT, son of the above-named
ROBERT MAPLETOFT and
SARAH his wife,
who died at this place in 1761
in the 7th year of his age.

This Monument was erected out of
filial regard to the best of parents, by
their son FRANCIS and daughter ELIZA-
BETH MAPLETOFT.

(2)

Sacred to the Memory
of
MRS. SARAH MAPLETOFT
a native of this Island
who departed this life
December * MDCCXCII.

Stranger, the stone
that now demands thy attention
points to no common example,
to no obscure character.

Like thyself
She had travers'd the Wide ocean,
had endured
the Vicissitudes of climate
the test of society.

If the Name
of Parent, Child, or Friend
appertains to thee;
devoutly pray
that its duties may be embrac'd
with as much zeal,
and fulfilled
with as much credit
as distinguished the career
and sanctified the end
of the subject of this inscription.

So may'st thou, not
by the world's suffrage,
but by the Creator's Grace
beam immortal!

* In error for 8th September.

CHAPTER IX.

1757 to 1762.

ON the recovery of Calcutta from the Nawab Suraj-ud-dowla in 1757, the first incumbent of the Chaplaincy appears to have been the *Rev. Richard Cobbe, R.N.* (M.A. of Pembroke College, Oxford, 1749). He was the son of the Rev. Richard Cobbe who, in 1715, was Chaplain of Bombay,* and afterwards Vicar of Bonbage, Wiltshire.

Of his life in England one fact only is even inferentially known, and this from his Will, to be given later, *viz.*, that he contracted an affection tending to matrimony for a Miss Mary Jency Eccles, of Woolwich Dockyard. Being commissioned Chaplain of H. M. S. *Kent*, Captain Henry Speke, 70 guns—the flag-ship of Rear-Admiral Charles Watson of the *Blue*—he sailed from Plymouth on the 9th of March 1754. The *Kent* had with her a squadron of five ships (of which two became almost immediately disabled), and a large body of troops. The expedition was intended to support the Company's operations in the Indies against M. Dupleix. The log of the *Kent* is to be seen at the Record Office in London, and a journal of her adventures was published by her Surgeon Edward Ives in 1773. It is surprising that in this most interesting work the references to the Chaplain should be so few, especially since the writer acknowledges in his preface his indebtedness to the note books of his 'two late valuable and ingenious friends, the Rev. Mr. Cobbe and Mr. George Thomas, whose papers fell into my hands soon after their decease.' It may be fairly inferred from context of the passage that Cobbe was a studious and observant naturalist.

Ives gives a long and interesting account, transcribed from a narrative of the Chaplain's, of an excursion made from Fort St. David in May 1755 to Deve-cotah and the famous pagoda of Chilambaram, by Admiral Watson, Commodore Pocock, Captain Knowler, Lieutenant Carnac, Mr. Doidge, the Admiral's Secretary, and Mr. Cobbe. Shortly afterwards Mahomed Ally, Nabob of Arcot, arrived near Fort St. David, and received the Admiral and his suite with great honour. Of one of the Nabob's return visits, Ives says—and it is the only personal

* See *ante*, page 66, and also *Selections from the State Papers of Bombay (Home Series)*, G. W. Forrest, p. 35, also *Ives' Voyage*, p. 34.

incident connected with the Chaplain which he troubles himself to set down :—

One very remarkable circumstance happened on this occasion ; *Mr. Cobbe*, at the Admiral's request, had put on his canonical dress, and the *Nabob* perceiving that he was uncommonly attired, seemed very desirous of knowing who he was. Upon being informed that he was the Admiral's Chaplain, he made him a second *salaam* and desired much that his own *Équiper* might be introduced to him ; who entered presently afterwards, quite in the apostolic habit. He had a kind of white cloth that went round his loins, and another of a coarser sort flung carelessly over one shoulder. He had no turban, and his hair was tied in a knot behind, while his beard hung down almost to his middle. He wore a sort of sandals on his feet, and loose iron chains about his legs. But exclusive of his extraordinary habit and appearance, he had something very wild and staring in his looks ; and indeed none are admitted into this particular order, without having manifested some degree of enthusiasm and madness. The two holy men congratulated each other on their respective office, and then seated themselves with the rest of the company.

On the 11th of November 1755, the little squadron anchored in Bombay harbour, and there found Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clive, who had lately landed on the island with three companies of the King's artillery from England, with the design of co-operating with the Marhattas against the French in the Carnatic and Deccan. A truce, however, having been just then concluded with the French, it was decided, under the advice of Mr. Bourchier the Governor, to attack *Gerial*, the fortress of the piratical prince, *Tullagee Angria*. A reference to this expedition is to be found in *Mr. Cobbe's Will*. *Gerial* was taken on the 14th of February 1756.

The squadron, with Colonel Clive on board, reached Madras at the same time as the news of the English disasters in Bengal arrived there. Though under orders to return home, it was decided that the whole force at the Admiral's disposal, with Colonel Clive in command of the land troops, should proceed to Bengal to relieve the English fortress there. Accordingly on the 16th of October the squadron, with several of the Company's vessels, sailed for the Hooghly. On the 14th of December, the expedition, after many disasters, reached *Fulta*. An extract from what Ives has to say about the condition of the English refugees there is given in the preceding chapter. He describes their forlorn condition, but particularly remarks upon their admirable cheerfulness. This he explains as partly the effect of revived hope, but partly—

To their having been so long disciplined in the school of adversity as to make them kiss the rod, and in the spirit of Christianity cheerfully submit

themselves to the dispensations of that benevolent Being, Who for wise and good reasons, had laid the burthen upon them.

It is not an unreasonable conjecture that here we have an unacknowledged passage from the journals of the Chaplain, to which the writer owns a general obligation.

Cobbe may have been the officiant at the marriage of Mr. Warren Hastings with Mary, widow of Captain John Buchanan, one of the Black Hole victims.* This is not the only marriage probably assignable to Fulta during these dismal months.

Before leaving the anchorage Cobbe made his Will as follows :—

Knowing the uncertainty of human life and the many hazardous enterprizes we are now going upon with the squadron up the river, and particularly lest any accident should befall the *Kent* or myself I leave this memorandum behind for and instead of a formal will and testament. I give to *Miss Mary Jency Eccles* late of Woolwich Dockyard, Kent, the sum of five hundred pounds with this proviso that she is not married before the first day of October one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight. But in case she should be married before the above mentioned day then I will that the said sum of five hundred pounds with my money in Mr. Ross's hands on board the *Hardwicke* (Mr. Hough has the bond for four thousand Bombay rupees Respondentia), my concern in the *Grampus*, my pay as Chaplain of his majesty's ship *Kent*, and whatever else I am possessed of or may be entitled to by prize money up the river or elsewhere after my decease may be all converted into cash and put into the Bank Stock of England. The interest of all which I leave to my affectionate Father, the *Rev. Mr. Richard Cobbe*, Vicar of Whitechurch near Blandford Dorsets for the term of his life. And after his decease I leave the same both interest and principal to my two sisters *Anne* and *Elizabeth Cobbe* to be equally divided between them. I appoint as my executor *Mr. Richard Hayter*, second Lieutenant of the *Kingfisher* and leave him for administering to my effects the sum of fifty pounds. But in case of any accident to him I appoint *Mr. Titus Raggett*, surgeon of the same, and appoint him the same for his trouble. Memorandum : should *Mr. Henry Diodge*, Secretary to admiral Watson, escape any accident that might happen to the ship we are embarked on board, for his many and singular favours to me I leave him the small acknowledgment of one hundred pounds not as any equivalent by any means for what he had done for me but as a bare remembrance.

Dated at Fulta in the River Hughly the twenty-seventh day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six.

By this I revoke that former memorandum I made at Bombay before we went with the squadron on the attack of Gheria the settlement of the Pirate Angria and I declare this to be my own hand-writing and I witness the same.

RICHARD COBBE.

* See a communication by the writer to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, July 1899.

This testamentary schedule, which required no attestation as being made by a naval officer on service, was admitted to probate in Calcutta on the 6th September 1757.*

On the 2nd January, Calcutta was recovered: on the 11th Hooghly was captured, but the *Kent* was not of the attacking armament, and consequently Cobbe was not likely to have been present. *Chandernagore* was taken from the French on the 23rd of March, after an engagement in which the *Kent* suffered severely. Ives says that the gallant Lieutenant Brereton was the only commissioned officer of that ship who was not either killed or wounded. We may presume, therefore, that the Chaplain did not escape. The next day, March 24th, the wounded, 41 in number, were removed to the hospital at Calcutta. Amongst them was William Speke, a lad of 16, whose tomb, prominent among those still intact in St. John's Churchyard, is distinguished by this somewhat singularly worded and inaccurate epitaph:—

Here lyes the Body of Wm. Speke aged 18 [*sic*]. Son of Hy. Speke Esq. Captain of his Majesty's Ship *Kent*; He lost his Leg and Life in that Ship at the capture of Fort Orleans the 24th of March Anno 1757.

The affecting circumstances of the death of this poor young midshipman should solicit for his tomb a special interest in the breasts of all visitors to St. John's. The narrative is therefore here transcribed at full length from the pages of Ives:—

The behaviour of Captain *Speke* and his son, a youth of 16 years of age, was so truly great and exemplary on this glorious, but melancholy occasion, that I must beg leave to describe it with some of its most interesting circumstances.

When Admiral *Watson* had the unhappiness to see both the father and son fall in the same instant; he immediately went up to them and by the most tender and pathetic expressions tried to alleviate their distress. The Captain who had observed his son's leg to be hanging only by the skin, said to the Admiral "Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel shot, to knock down both the father and the son!" Mr. *Watson's* heart was too full to make the least reply; he only ordered them both to be immediately carried to the Surgeon. The Captain was first brought down to me in the after-hold where a platform had been made and then told me how dangerously his poor *Billy* was wounded. Presently after the brave youth himself appeared, but had another narrow escape, the quarter-master who was bringing him down in his arms after his father, being killed by a cannon ball; his eyes overflowing with tears, not for his own but for his father's fate, I laboured to assure him, that his father's wound was not dangerous, and this assertion was confirmed by the Captain himself. He

* See M. C. Eccl. Suits No. 32.

seemed not to believe either of us until he asked me *upon my honour*, and I had repeated to him my first assurance in the most positive manner. He then immediately became calm; but on my attempting to enquire into the condition of his wound, he solicitously asked me, if I had dressed his father for he could not think of my touching him, before his father's wound had been taken care of. I assured him that the Captain had been already properly attended to: *Then* (replied the generous youth, pointing to a fellow-sufferer) "*Pray, Sir, look to and dress this poor man who is groaning so sadly beside me!*" I told him, that he already had taken care of, and begged of him with some importunity that I now might have liberty to examine his wound; he submitted to it, and calmly observed, "*Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint!*" I replied, my dear, I must!—Upon which he clasped both his hands together, and lifting his eyes in the most devout and fervent manner towards heaven, he offered up the following short, but earnest petition: "*Good God, do thou enable me to behave in my present circumstances worthy my Father's son!*"—when he had ended this ejaculatory prayer he told me that he was all submission. I then performed the operation above the joint of the knee; but during the whole time the intrepid youth never spoke a word or uttered a groan that could be heard at a yard distance.

The reader may easily imagine, what, in this dreadful interval the brave, but unhappy Captain suffered, who lay just by his unfortunate and darling son. But whatever were his feelings we discovered no other expressions of them, than what the silent, trickling tears declared; though the bare recollection of the scene, even at this distant time, is too painful for me. Both the father and the son the day after the action were sent with the rest of the wounded back to *Calcutta*. The father was lodged at the house of *William Mackett, Esq.*, his brother-in-law,* and the son was with me at the hospital. For the first eight or nine days, I gave the father great comfort by carrying him joyful tidings of his boy; and in the same manner I gratified the son in regard to his father. But alas! from that time all the good symptoms which had hitherto attended this unparalleled youth, began to disappear! The Captain easily guessed, by my silence and countenance, the true state his boy was in; nor did he ever after ask me more than two questions concerning him; so tender was the subject to us both, and so unwilling was his generous mind to add to my distress. The first, was on the tenth day, in these words, "*How long my friend, do you think my Billy may remain in a state of uncertainty?*" I replied, that "If he lived to the 15th day from the operation, there would be the strongest hopes of his recovery. On the 13th however he died: and on the 16th the brave man looking me steadfastly in the face said "*Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy?*" I could make him no reply;—and he immediately attributed my silence to the real cause. He cried bitterly, squeezed me by the hand, and begged me to leave him for one half hour; when he wished to see me again; and assured me that I should find him with a different countenance, from that he troubled me with at present. These were his obliging expressions. I punctually complied with his desire, and when I returned to him, he appeared as he ever after did, perfectly calm and serene.

* Ann Casterot, widow *née* Speke, had married William Mackett at Calcutta, March 30th, 1752. Baptisms of their children Charles and Ann occur in the Registers.

The dear youth had been delirious the evening preceding the day on which he died; and at two o'clock in the morning, in the utmost distress of mind, he sent me an incorrect note, written by himself with a pencil, of which the following is an exact copy.—“*If Mr. Ives will consider the disorder a son must be in when he is told he is dying, and is yet in doubt whether his father is not in as good a state of health. If Mr. Ives is not too busie to honour this Chitt, which nothing but the greatest uneasiness could draw from me. The boy waits an answer.*” Immediately on the receipt of this note, I visited him, and he had still sense enough left to know who I was. He then began with me. “*And is he dead?*” Who, my dear? “*My father, Sir.*” No, my love; nor is he in any danger, I assure you; he is almost well. “*Thank God—then why did they tell me so? I am now satisfied, and ready to die.*” At that time he had a locked jaw, and was in great distress, but I understood every word he so inarticulately uttered: he begged my pardon, for having (as he obligingly and tenderly expressed himself) disturbed me at so early an hour, and before the day was ended, surrendered up a valuable life.

The mortality at the Naval hospital was very great. Ives, who was in charge of it, gives statistics for over ten months of 1757 in detail. He records the deaths, between December 25th, 1756,* and November 7th, 1757, of 180 men, exclusive of such as were slain in battle. The whole of these men appear to have belonged to the squadron—and none of their burials can be traced in the Church register. William Speke's is not there, nor the Chaplain's (whose Will was proved on 6th September of that year), not even that of Admiral Watson!—who was interred on the 17th of August; a lofty and massive tomb still marking the spot. Messrs. George Grey and William Fullerton, the factory surgeons, in certifying on the 1st February 1758 to a list of 168 deaths for 1757, add this remark:—“*N.B.—From the unsettled and unfixed situation of the place many deaths have not come to our notice especially belonging to the squadron.*”

The Rev. Richard Cobbe was appointed Chaplain of the Factory perhaps from Lady Day—the day after his presumed admission into the hospital; he was then thirty-two years of age. The Court approved his appointment by Letter of November 11th, 1757, para. 59. The only mention of him yet found in the Company's books is in the pay-sheet of salaries of covenanted servants of October 1757, *i.e.*, to Michaelmas Day—

“By the Rev. Mr. Richard Cobbe.

Salary, at £50 per annum 4m. 3d. £17 9-4, Rs. 139-11-6

Gratuity, at £50 per annum 4m. 3d. £17-9-4, Rs. 139-11-6

Rs. 279-7-0”

* The hospital was on board the ship *Protector* until February 8th.

He cannot, therefore, have died earlier than July 28th. No Baptisms nor Marriages by him are to be found in the Register.

One of the earliest duties of Cobbe's incumbency, if the matter had not been decided upon before he took over charge, was the arranging for a new place of English worship, as St. Anne's lay in ruins. There were two other churches in the settlement, both of which escaped serious or any injury;—that of 'St. Nazareth' belonging to the Armenians (a community to encourage whom was the traditional policy of the Company), and that of 'Our Lady of the Rozary' belonging to the Portuguese Friars. The latter was disused, because through apprehension of French intrigues, the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in Calcutta had been absolutely interdicted by the Governor in Council, on their recovery of the settlement. This decree is thus reported to the Court in the Council's letter of January 31st:—

§ 14. The inconvenience we experienced at the siege of Calcutta from the prodigious number of Portuguese women who were admitted for security into the Fort, the very little or no service that race of people are of to the settlement, added to the prospect we had of a war with France, in which case we had reason to suppose they would refuse to take up arms against an enemy of their own religion (should we be attacked) induced us upon our return to interdict the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and forbid the residence of their priests in our bounds.

In quoting this passage,* Mr. Long remarks that Colonel Clive shortly after this time complained that 'the padrees and other engines were employed to facilitate the escape of the French prisoners from Chandernagore.'

This proscription of Romanism was disapproved by the Court who, on learning of it wrote, under date of March 3rd, 1758, as follows:—

§ 46. We cannot approve of your so generally interdicting the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion within the whole bounds, as such a step may be attended with many inconveniences. But if any priest is troublesome or suspected of doing anything prejudicial to our affairs, we would have such an one immediately dismissed and not permitted to reside anywhere within the bounds. As to Fort William itself it will be a prudent measure so long as the French war subsists not to suffer any person professing the Roman Catholic religion, priests or others, to reside therein, and this you are strictly to observe.

[The letter goes on to say that continued favour is to be shown to the Armenians.]

The Portuguese church, therefore, being out of use, was taken for the English services, probably early in 1757.

* *Selections* i, § 226.

This church was a brick building dating from 1720, and occupying the site of the present Moorgheehatta Cathedral. The Vicar at the time was Friar Caetano da Madre de Dios, an Augustinian of Bandel, who had served there at least since 1740, the date when the existing Roman Catholic parish registers begin.

Besides this one of utilizing the Portuguese church, another scheme had for a time been favoured by the Council. The latter proposed to convert the theatre into a church,—a proposition which was actually communicated to the Court and obtained sanction,* but was never acted upon.

Cobbe must have officiated in the Portuguese church. During his time the Church-wardens were Mr. Thomas Boddam (a member of Council), and Mr. Culling Smith (Subimport-warehouse-keeper), and these recovered charge of the charity stock; for in the Council proceedings of 27th June 1757 this minute occurs:—

Messrs. Boddam and Smith, Wardens of the Parish send in a letter to the board requesting the bonds for charity stock lost at the capture may be either renewed or certificates given for them. *Ordered*, a certificate be prepared.

The letter specified the stock to consist of 'three bonds outstanding in Mr. Eyre's hands for Rs. 20,018.' Doubtless the recovery of this property was soon followed by the re-opening of the charity school.

At this point must be recorded the curious fact that in an account of certain special expenditures in the proceedings of Council of September 20th, 1757, appears the following item:—

Books of Divinity Rs. 1,757-2-3.

It can but be conjectured that these books were intended as a restoration of the lost Vestry Library.

Cobbe's successor was the *Rev. Thomas Northcotte* (chaplain, it is to be presumed, of some Indiaman); he was then thirty years of age. To him a reference is found in the Council proceedings under date of Thursday, November 17th, 1757:—

The Rev. Mr. Northcotte, chaplain sends in a letter complaining of the ill repair and inconvenience of the church &c. *Ordered*, It be entered, and Captain Brohier do put the church and churchyard in proper repair; and that the Secretary do acquaint Mr. Northcotte he may appoint his own clerk, sexton and undertaker.

This church referred to was of course the Portuguese church, and the churchyard must be understood to be that in which it stood, for though the factory burying-ground had evidently been much desecrated

* See Gen. Letter, Court to Council, March 3rd, 1758, § 58.

by the Moors, an order for the rebuilding of its walls had been made upon 'the Buxey' on the previous 26th of September.

The appointment of undertakers was always retained in the hands of the chaplains as it still is in all mofussil stations: thus in 1784, July 22nd, the chaplains of the presidency notified in the gazette that they had dismissed their former undertakers and had appointed instead a Mr. James Palmer, whose place of business was in Cossaitollah. They say they are resolved to regulate his charges, which shall be more moderate than those of his predecessors. Accordingly the next gazette contains Mr. Palmer's advertisement of his 'stock of new and elegant Coffin Furniture.' The chaplains continued to license undertakers until 1882,* when the newly constituted 'Calcutta Christian Burial Board' took over their responsibilities with regard to the Calcutta cemeteries. None but undertakers licensed by the Board are to the present day allowed to work in the cemeteries under its control.

No marriages of 1757 are recorded, and entries of baptisms only begin with September 1st, which may probably be taken as being about the date of Northcotte's taking over charge. He probably resigned his incumbency at the end of the year. Returning home it is found that he matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on the 14th July 1763, being then thirty-six years of age.

Some time in 1758 the *Rev. Henry Butler* (B.A., Balliol, College, Oxford, 1746), who had been appointed by the Court Chaplain at Bencoolen, Fort Marlborough, arrived in Calcutta; and as there was no clergyman then in the settlement, Governor Drake detained him and made him Chaplain. His name, however, is not found in the pay-sheet of covenanted servants for the six months ending Lady Day, 1758. Still, as the Registers show a continuous series of marriages and baptisms since January of that year, it is not unlikely that that was the month of his arrival. At any rate, he was in Calcutta in February. For some reason or other, the Council did not apprise the Court of the appointment it had taken the liberty to make, nor did it pay Mr. Butler's salary at the usual dates. The first allusion to his name yet found in the proceedings of the Bengal Council is as follows:—

1759 January 15th. The Rev. Mr. Butler sends in a note for six months' salary.† *Agreed*, that it be paid out of the cash. He likewise sends in an indent for broadcloth and lace for the use of the Church. *Ordered*, that it be complied with.

* *Vostry Minutes passim.*

† *i.e.*, to December 31st. See also Proceedings of July 23rd "Old siccas 400."

The previous Michaelmas Day Mr. Butler had the pleasure of welcoming a colleague in the ministry of the Church in the person of the *Rev. John Zachary Kiernander*, a Missionary maintained at £50 a year by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He was the first strictly missionary representative of the Church of England who had ever settled in Bengal, and it is known that the Company's Chaplains—Butler and his successors—did their best to aid him in promoting his sacred work among the heathen. This ardent servant of Jesus Christ was a Swede. His birth place was Akstad in East Gothland, where he was born on the 1st December, 1711. He graduated at the University of Halle in November 1735. On the 29th of April 1740, he sailed for India under the patronage of S. P. C. K., and had sustained eighteen years of varied missionary labours in Southern India before his transference to Calcutta. The respect with which he was received in the settlement is most interestingly indicated by the fact that when rather more than a month after his arrival his wife *Wendela* bore him a son (*Robert-William*, destined alas! to bring bankruptcy and ruin upon his father's old age), the President, Colonel Robert Clive, and his wife Margaret, with Mr. William Watts, Chief of Kasimbazar, and his wife Frances,* stood Sponsors at the christening.

Several biographies of this remarkable missionary have been compiled, and from them we learn that the Chaplain, Mr. Butler, helped him largely in collecting funds for his work, and lent him the Presidency Church (orewhile Portuguese), for Portuguese services on Sunday afternoons. On the 1st of December next after his arrival, Kiernander opened a mission school, and by the middle of January 1759, he was able to write home to the S. P. C. K. that he had 48 scholars—Armenians 7, Portuguese 15, Bengalees 6, and English 20—these last were obviously the 20 boys maintained by the charity stock, which Mr. Butler was glad to place under Mr. Kiernander's care, the parish clerk continuing to be their school master.

In June or July arrived the Court's Letter of January 23rd, which contains several paragraphs of interest in the history of the Chaplaincy.

22. We have chosen and appointed the *Rev. Mr. John Moore* and *Mr. John Cape* to be the Company's Chaplains on the Bengal Establishment. The first-named gentleman takes his passage on the *Calcutta*, the other will proceed upon the *Stormont* or one of the other later ships—We have lent to each of the said

* Frances Crook born 10th April 1728, married 1. Porry-Purplo Templer. 2. James Altham. 3. William Watts. 4. Rev. William Johnson, one of the Calcutta Chaplains. She died, 3rd February 1812, aged 87. Monument in St. John's Churchyard.

gentlemen £100, which is to be repaid out of their growing salaries agreeable to the tenour of their Bonds enclosed by the ships on which they take passage.

23. In lieu of the complicated allowances which our Chaplains have had from custom out of our cash and from the Buxey, and to reduce the same to plain and certain appointments each of our said Chaplains and all others from hence-forward who may succeed them are to be paid out of our cash at the usual time of paying the salaries of the Company's covenant servants after the following rates, *viz.* :—

Salary as usual after the yearly rate of	...	...	£	50	0	0
Gratuity as usual	...	...	..	50	0	0
For house rent if no apartment can be allotted the usual yearly rate of	...	...	..	30	0	0
And in lieu of the allowances in the Buxey's accounts for Diet., Servants' Wages, and all the various articles which have crept in by custom and connivance the annual sum only of	...	...	..	100	0	0
				<hr/>		
				£ 230 0 0		
				<hr/>		

24. The said yearly sum of £230 sterling is to be paid each of our Chaplains at the usual times of payment, and you are hereby positively ordered to make them no other allowances as from the Company in any shape or on any pretence whatever. Both *Mr. Moore* and *Mr. Cape* have had the matter very clearly explained to them previous to their being chosen which it is right to mention that you may be apprised of its being a mutual agreement.

25. *Mr. Carter* having signified to us by a letter from Fort St. George dated the 10th March last that you being in want of a Clergyman had prevailed on the *Rev. Henry Butler* to stay in Bengal, and requesting we will send another to Fort Marlborough in his room (which by the way is not taken notice of in any letter of yours to us) you are to acquaint *Mr. Butler* that having before the receipt of *Mr. Carter's* letter filled up both the vacant Chaplainships in Bengal, we cannot comply with the request made on his behalf and that he is therefore accordingly to his original appointment to proceed by the first convenient opportunity to Fort Marlborough.

By July of 1759 both *Mr. Moore* and *Mr. Cape* must have arrived, the former by the *C. S. Calcutta*, the latter following in the *Stormont*. The Council did not hasten the transference of *Mr. Butler* to his original destination, for on the 10th September this letter from him is found in the 'proceedings':—

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs, being informed that the roof of the church is much decayed and in dangor of falling I take the liberty to request that you will be pleased to order *Mr. Plaisted* to survey and examine the same, I am, &c., *HENRY BUTLER*.

This was the Portuguese church. Whether the repairs were executed or not, does not appear.

There being now three clergymen in Calcutta, one could be spared for up-country duty; accordingly Mr. Butler was sent at the end of the year either to visit out-factories, or to serve some portion of the Company's forces in the field; and Messrs. Moore and Cape were in January and February left by themselves in Calcutta. On the 9th February 1760, Moore requested leave of the Council to exchange with Mr. Butler, and to proceed to *Bencoolen* in his stead. His plea is strange considering that the pay of the chaplains had just been, apparently, raised to £230 a year each. He said that he could not contrive to live with his family on his pay in Calcutta. The Council granted the request, permitting him at the same time to defer payment of his bond of £100 until his arrival at Fort Marlborough. Mr. Butler was recalled "from camp," and on the 23rd February wrote from *Surpore* [? Sherpur] thanking the Council for his appointment.

Shortly after this, the community becoming very much discontented with their place of worship, the Council was appealed to; and the following most naïve minute occurs in the proceedings, under date of March 24th, 1760:—

Taking into consideration the unwholesomeness and dampness of the church now in use, *as well as the injustice of detaining it from the Portuguese.*—Ordered, the surveyor to examine the remains of the gate-way in the Old Fort, and report to us what it will cost to put it in tolerable repair and make it fit for a chapel, till such time as the chapel designed to be built in the new Fort be erected.

On this Mr. Long remarks that the cost of the chapel was Rs. 2,500, and that it was completed in July, the Portuguese church being handed back again to Padre Caetano.

This chapel was denominated "St. John's Chapel," and its successor, similarly "St. John's Church." It has long been a matter of controversy as to whether the *Evangelist* or the *Baptist* is to be held as the Patron Saint—and the following solution of the question is now proposed. The Provincial Grand Lodge of the Freemasons of Bengal had been revived the previous year, the Mr. William Mackett, previously mentioned, being the Grand Master, and Mr. Holwell and a Mr. Mapletoft high office-bearers. Mr. Church-warden Culling Smith was also a member of the Lodge, and succeeded as Grand Master in 1762. It happened that the new chapel was projected and completed during the six months (January 28th to July 27th) of Mr. Holwell's administration as

'President in the Bay and Governor and Commander-in-Chief for Fort William in Bengal for the United East India Company,' before Mr. Henry Vansittart, who had been designated for that jurisdiction, arrived to assume it. There is a tradition that the first Calcutta church was dedicated to 'St. John,' at the request of the Freemasons who provided the ceremonial of dedication. It is now known that the first church was dedicated to St. Anne, but that the chapel built in 1760 was "St. John's." Adjusting, therefore, the tradition to the dedication of the chapel, it appears very likely that Governor Holwell appointed the 24th of June St. John the Baptist's Day, a great Masonic anniversary, for the opening solemnities, and not some time, as Mr. Long thinks, in July.* [The present St. John's was dedicated on the Baptist's Day in 1787.] Thus the true title of both chapel and church would appear to be '*of St. John the Baptist.*'

The new chapel was built inside the ruined fort against the East Curtain immediately south of the Great East Gateway; its southern end must have abutted on the 'Black Hole prison,' then used as a store of merchandise. It is described by 'Sophia Goldborne' as a ground floor,—but there is an allusion to a godown under it—perhaps the underground chamber discovered in the excavations of 1891. It had a high pitched roof.

The chapel originally intended to be built within the new fort was not provided until 1826!

The public exercise of religion was thus again decently provided for by the latter part of 1760. The English, the Portuguese, and the Armenians—three Christian nations represented in the settlement—had each again its House of prayer and Sacraments, while the S. P. C. K. Mission under Mr. Kiernander flourished so well that Mr. Butler was able to write to the Society (under date of 12th January, 1761) testifying

. . . . to the good behaviour of the Society's missionaries and recommending it to them to send a person of industry and unblemished morals to assist him in the school, not doubting but that whatever stipend they may allow him will be considerably augmented in Calcutta. [*S. P. C. K. Report*]

Instincts of humanity also were becoming more sensitive than of old, as may fairly be presumed from the following minute of Council—ferocious as it is—dated November 17th, 1760:—

The Board taking into consideration the usual method of punishing capital offences in the zamindary by whipping to death, are of opinion that the

* Compare Long's *Selections*, Vol. i, No. 410.

method does not sufficiently contribute to deterring criminals as the example is not sufficiently public and therefore order that punishment be changed into that of blowing from a gun.

One other minute of Council is to be found in the year 1760 of interest to the present subject; it records the receipt of the following letter, and compliance with its request:—

Hon'ble, Sir & Sirs, Permit us to inform you that *Culling Smith* and *George Williamson* Esquires were appointed Churchwardens for the settlement of Calcutta on Sunday December 14, 1760, and we request that they may be inserted as such in the Bonds intended to be renew'd for the charity stock. We are with much respect Hon'ble Sir and Sirs, your most obedient humble servants
HENRY BUTLER, JOHN CAPE, Calcutta, December 15, 1760.

The year 1761 saw the burials on 10th May of Mr. Kiernander's wife, Wendela;* on 13th November of Henry Butler; and on 27th December of John Cape. In July or August the chapel was draped in mourning at a cost of Co.'s Rs. 253-0-6 on receipt of the news of the demise of King George II.†

On the death of Mr. Butler the Council passed this minute:—

November 12th the Reverend Mr. Henry Butler having departed this life this morning after a very painful and lingering illness. *Agreed*, we appoint the Reverend Mr. Samuel Stavelly one of the chaplains of Fort St. George Presidency, chaplain upon this establishment, till the Company's pleasure is known, to whom it is agreed that we recommend in our general letter to continue him at this presidency.

Mr. Butler was aged 37. He died intestate. His estate, which proved considerably involved, was administered by Mr. Warren Hastings as his 'friend and creditor.' Apparently he had borrowed and given bonds for a sum of considerably over Rs. 26,000, with a view to increasing his income by investments in country goods for sale in Calcutta. There is evidence that he had endeavoured, but without success, to obtain some increase of salary‡—the £230 found so hopelessly insufficient by Mr. Moore. In his time objectors on principle to a clergyman's occasionally buying and selling goods with a view to profit were probably not to be found; and even in our own day, when ideas as to what it is permissible to a clergyman to do are much 'higher' than they were in those of George II, few would forbid a priest occasionally to buy and sell

* Mr. Kiernander "had the fortitude not to give himself up to vain lamentation," for "the remembrance of all his former sorrows was obliterated in the silken embraces of opulent beauty; the 10th day of February 1762 witnessed his union with Mrs. Anno Wolley." *Asiaticus*.

† Council Proceedings 'Public,' August 24th.

‡ Compare Letter Court to Council, 1762, February 19th, para. 56.

shares, houses, cattle, if he found advantage thereby. Evidently a large portion of Mr. Butler's investments remained unsold. Thus at his decease, his administrators had to realize upon his *Rice* (2,160 maunds at 14 annas = Rs. 1,890), his *China silk* (about 35 parcels = about Rs. 1,575), his *Salt* (about Rs. 4,600), his '*Ophium*' (50 maunds = Rs. 8,705-10-0), and his other *Merchandise* (about Rs. 960). These particulars are here given in detail because they are singular. The present writer has searched with much care into such scattered facts as have survived on record connected with the chaplains in Bengal until the constitution of the Bishopric, and Henry Butler's is the solitary discoverable example since the foundation of Calcutta, of a clergyman personally undertaking a trading investment. And this one adventure resulted in disaster, for after every single thing he possessed had been sold (his house fetched Rs. 1,506-9-6), and after paying back the borrowed capital and current expenses, only Rs. 938-10-3 was found on the 7th December 1764 by Mr. Warren Hastings as remaining to the credit of his estate.

Great part of his effects were sold by outcry on the 5th and 6th December 1761. The sale-list is curious : these are some of the items :—

				Rs.	A.	P.
6	Pagan Pictures	...	...	Mr. Ashburner	...	7 0 0
An	Astrological Instrument	...	...	Ramkissen Metro	...	20 4 0
1	Silver Mounted Otter Box	...	...	Major Carnack	...	20 0 0
2	Silver fly sticks	...	...	Mr. Swinton	...	51 0 0
7	Waistcoats, 9 coats, & a Pr. of Breeches	...	...	John Lune	...	22 8 0
2	Black gowns	...	...	D. J. Lasendo	...	1 0 0
4	Pair Black Silk stockings	...	...	D. J. Lasendo	...	29 0 0
1	Silver Mounted sword	...	...	Jno. Pull	...	20 0 0
4	Bottles of Europe snuff	...	...	Davidson (Pilot)	...	3 0 0
2	Wigs	...	...	Mr. Wood	...	1 8 0
3	Do.	...	...	Collychurn Pollit	...	2 8 0
3	Do.	...	...	Domingo D'Cruz	...	5 0 0
2	Do.	...	...	Do.	...	10 0 0
A	Silver Sauce Pan	...	...	Mr. Johnstone	...	93 10 3
A	garden spado	...	...	Canto Junr.	...	5 0 0
1	Hookah	...	...	Mr. Dobbins	...	6 0 0
1	Do.	...	...	Do.	...	27 4 0
1	Horse Saddle and Bridle	...	...	Major Carnac	...	113 0 0
15	Sheep and a goat	...	...	Mr. Hancock	...	17 0 0
2	Bullocks	...	...	Mr. D. deCruz	...	17 0 0
A	Pidgeon House and the Pidgeons	...	...	Mr. Polier	...	37 0 0
A	Chair Pallankeen	...	...	Canto Junr.	...	67 0 0
12	Bottles of Orange Shrub	...	...	D. J. Lasendo	...	10 0 0
A	Cask of Mango Shrub	...	...	Jno. Pull	...	17 0 0
1	Microscope	...	...	Major Carnak	...	14 0 0

Among the *Books* were the following :—

			Rs.	A.	P.
2 Vols. Broughton's <i>Historia Sacra</i>	... Mr. Dacres	...	3	0	0
2 Vols. Stackhouse's <i>History of the Bible</i>	... Dr. Alves	...	16	8	0
2 Vols. Barrow's <i>Works</i>	... Mr. Johnstone	...	4	4	0
Hammond on the New Testament	... Mr. Dobbins	...	1	0	0
12 Vols. Tillotson's <i>Sermons</i>	... Mr. Parry	...	30	0	0
7 Vols. Sharpe's <i>do.</i>	... Do.	...	4	0	0
10 Vols. Grove's <i>do.</i>	... Mr. Johnstone	...	7	0	0
4 Vols. Stanhope's <i>Epistle and Gospel</i>	... Mr. Hare	...	2	0	0
3 Vols. <i>Dictionary of the Bible</i>	... Mr. Dacres	...	3	8	0
5 Vols. Scot's <i>Christian Life</i>	... Do.	...	2	8	0
2 Vols. Clarke's <i>Paraphrases</i>	... Major Carnae	...	2	0	0
8 Vols. „ <i>Sermons</i>	... Mr. Johnstone	...	3	0	0
3 Vols. Sherlock's <i>Discourses</i>	... Do.	...	9	0	0
1 Vol. <i>New Duty of Man</i>	... Mr. Dacres	...	1	0	0
<i>The Lives of Saints</i>	... Captain Scott	...	0	8	0

The total amounted to Rs. 7,791-4-6.

Of his funeral bill by Richard Hall, undertaker, some of the items are :—

1,500 nails. Rs. 9. 100 Cooleys to bear Dammers Rs. 6. 200 Dammers @ 7rs. pr. 100, Rs. 14.

The 'Dammers' were of course pitch-torches: their use suggests that the funeral took place at night. The total cost of his burying (the clergyman's fees, then G. Rs. 22,* appears not to have been charged) was Rs. 446-0-9. No monument was erected.

The Council minute recording *John Cape's* death runs thus :—

1761 December, 28th, Yesterday the Reverend Mr. John Cape departed this life of a dissentry. As Mr. Cape's death has occasioned a vacancy in the chaplaincy of this presidency *Agreed*, we mention to the gentlemen at Madras that if *Mr. Moore* is inclined to come down to Bengal we will venture to restore him to his station here till the Company's pleasure is signified to us in answer to what we wrote in his favour by the *Hawke*.

Mr. Moore, it will be remembered, had gone to Fort Marlborough. He never was a chaplain at Fort St. George. Nor did he accept the invitation to return to his original Presidency, and if he had he would not have been allowed to hold the office as the Court refused to sanction the transfer.†

The trifling estate left by Cape was administered by one William Brown, 12th January 1762, who claimed to be his 'next of kin in Calcutta.'‡

* Compare a bill in M. C. Eccl. Suits, No. 378.

† Letters Court to Council, 13th March 1761 and 22nd December 1762.

‡ M. C. Eccl. 696.

Early in January 1762, the *Rev. Samuel Staveley*, M.A., arrived from Madras (as invited by the Council) as Mr. Butler's successor. He was a member of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, whence he graduated B.A. in 1740 and M.A. in 1747. Having served as a Chaplain in the Royal Navy, he was appointed at Madras Chaplain of that Presidency on the 30th of August 1753. He must have been about forty-two years of age when he took over charge of his Bengal duties.

One of the earliest of these duties was to preside at a vestry meeting, at which it was decided to apply to the Council for an increase of the rent of the Court-house up to Rs. 2,000 a year, the Church stock undertaking all repairs. To this the Council agreed on the 18th January. In the minute the application is said to be from 'the *Ministers* and Church-wardens.' Who the second Chaplain was does not appear, unless the 'Mr. Parry,' who the previous month had bought 19 volumes of sermons at Mr. Butler's sale, were the same as the *William Parry* who became, by local appointment, Chaplain the following November, and were then 'officiating.'

CHAPTER X.

1762 to 1769.

THE second or junior Chaplaincy had plainly no permanent incumbent, when on the 11th of March 1762, the Council, on the recommendation of Mr. Henry Vansittart, then Governor of the Presidency, resolved as follows :—

The Rev. Mr. William Hirst who came out as Chaplain with Admiral Cornish offering himself for the vacant Chaplaincy at this presidency and being a man of good character and known abilities, *Agreed* we appoint him till company's pleasure is known.

However, in the meanwhile the Council had notified to the Court the vacancy in the second Chaplaincy, and the latter at once appointed the Rev. Furnival Bowen (B.A. of Jesus College, Oxford), 'a gentleman extremely well recommended to us to fill that station,' as successor to Mr. Cape, confirming at the same time the appointment of Mr. Staveley as successor to Mr. Butler.* 'Salary and appointments' to be strictly those laid down in the letter of 23rd January 1759, already quoted, *i.e.*, £230 *per annum*. Nevertheless, such was the discretion assumed and persistently exercised by the Council of Fort William, that the salary of a Chaplain at this time was *actually* £270 (Rs. 1,800) a year, with Rs. 22-6-6 a month for house rent!†

The Rev. William Hirst, F.R.S., one of the most accomplished men who ever belonged to the Bengal Ecclesiastical establishment, was the son of William Hirst, D.D., master of Hertford Free School, Vicar of Benges and Rector of Sacomb Hertfordshire. He graduated 15th Junior Optime from Peter-house, Cambridge, 1750, and M.A. in 1754. He was at that time resident at Hornsey, Middlesex, whence he communicated to the Royal Society his observations on a Fire-ball.‡

His election was completed on the 20th February following.

* See Letters Court to Council, 22nd December 1762, § 42.

† See 9th Report of the Committee of Secrecy.

‡ See Phil. Trans. xlviii, pt. ii, pp. 773-6. This led to his being recommended to the Society by five of its leading members for election as a Fellow. The original election certificate runs—

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed do of our own personal knowledge certify him to be a gentleman well versed in several parts of natural and mathematical knowledge and accordingly recommend him as a person likely to be a useful member of [The Royal] Society, London Nov. 14th, 1754. S. MEAD, THO. BIRCH, JNO. HYDE, JOHN VAN RIXTEL."

Shortly after this, being appointed a Chaplain in the Royal Navy, he sailed in the *Hampton Court* to Lisbon, then lying in ruins, after the Earthquake, and sent home thence a drawing of the devastated city. In 1759 he became Chaplain of the *Lennox* and Secretary to Rear Admiral Cornish. In this vessel he was present at the siege of Pondicherry on the Coromandel Coast. While staying at Government House, Madras, on the 6th June 1761, he made minute observations of a Transit of Venus, which he sent up to the Royal Society.*

Both clergymen must have taken part in the vestry meeting of July 1762, of which a fragment of the proceedings has been preserved;—the earliest Calcutta vestry minutes now existing.† These minutes concern a projected improvement of the ‘Town House,’ and are as follows:—

1. There shall be Varanda to the southward the whole length of the House above and below 25 feet broad.
2. There shall be a Saloon of the same size as that below with a room at each end and the Saloon to be open with as many arches as possible to the Great Hall and the Rooms at each end.
3. There shall be a Hall for dancing, &c., of the breadth of the present Hall; but to be the whole length of the house from East to West, and to be boarded with an Orchestra for Music.
4. To the Northward of the Great Hall there will be two rooms to the East and to the West.
5. Fifty thousand rupees shall be raised for the expense of this building and the furniture.
6. The subscribers agree to make a present of the subscription to the charity stock to whom the House now belongs.
7. And the House which now lets for 2,000 Rs. a year it is imagin'd will produce five or six thousand when these additions are made. It may serve for all the Public uses of the settlement, an Exchange for Merchants to meet at, a Post Office, Quarter Sessions, Public Entertainments and all the General Meetings.

The rent received for the Town Hall still continued at Rs. 2,000 a year up to April 1764. The sums actually raised and expended on its improvement were Rs. 10,119-9-6 with Rs. 13,351-1-0 contributed by the charity stock.

The year 1761 was a very unhealthy one in Calcutta, but 1762 was still worse: an epidemic raged, and the burials recorded in the English register amount to 241—nearly 100 in excess of the previous year.

* See Phil. Trans. lii, pt. i, pp. 396-8. On Mr. Hirst's appointment to his Calcutta charge on March 11th, 1762, both the Calcutta Chaplaincies were filled by ex-officers of the Royal Navy.

† From Consultations, Home Department of 9th February 1775.

One of the victims was the Rev. Samuel Staveley, who was buried on the 26th October—aged probably 42 or 43. By his Will, dated at Fort St. George, 27th December 1758, and proved by the President Mr. Henry Vansittart—an old Madras friend of his—on the 15th April 1763, he left all his little property to his two sisters, Ann and Elinor Staveley, of Sherborne, in Dorset. His effects were valued at C. Rs. 2,000.*

Some of the items of the Inventory are—3 gowns, 2 cassocks, 1 girt-band, 6 wigs, 1 blue cloth cloak, 80 linen stocks, 75 linen caps, 1 stand, 4 wig block-heads, 2 wig-boxes, snuff-boxes, spectacles. He had a wonderfully well-furnished library, containing 4 volumes of *Wilkins's Concilia*, and 11 volumes of *Tillotson's Works*, and a great number of volumes of sermons, amongst which were *Clarke's* (10 volumes), *Atterbury's*, *Littleton's*, *Dodwell's*, *Newcome's*, *Orford's*, *Bacon's*, *Lupton's*, *Daniel Bellamy's*, *Butler's* and *Yorrick's*.

Of him Mr. Kiernander had written to the S. P. C. K. that his presence in Calcutta made up to him for the loss of Mr. Butler and Mr. Cape :—

With an equal good zeal he ardently endeavours to promote the cause of Christianity.†

Be this their epitaph ! and God give them the reward of their pious labours.

Mr. Kiernander's mission was by this time beginning to make sensible progress, but apparently not among the heathen. The eighteen years the Missionary had spent in the south, and made himself master of Tamil, but he apparently never adequately acquired Bengali. His labours became early almost wholly confined to Roman controversy and protestantizing the Portuguese. The following portion of a letter of his written at this period to the President and Council illustrates this, and also incidentally shows that the Portuguese services begun at 'Our Lady of the Rosary's' Church had not been continued at St. John's Chapel. No doubt the latter was found too remote from the Kinthal population :—

The Honourable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have thought proper to establish me here at Calcutta as their missionary, in order to converse with the heathens, and to make known to them the true principles of religion, not only but also to endeavour to bring the erring Roman Catholic Christians to the truth of the Gospel.

* M. C. Eccl. 776.

† S. P. C. K. Report, 1763.

The greatest part of the inhabitants of Calcutta being of a Popish persuasion, I have made it my business, as far as opportunity has offered, to give them the necessary instructions, and having now most five years once every Sunday preached in the Portuguese language, besides other methods of dispersing books amongst them, some of them have hereby had an opportunity to be better informed, and a small congregation is already gathered, though I have as yet no other place than my dwelling house for the performing of the Divine Service to them. And being not without hopes, but very confident, that many more by the mercy of God, will in time open their eyes and seek for the truth.

It would therefore be a real charity if your honor in this respect would extend your care and charity towards a poor ignorant and so much deceived people, and procure for them a convenient place for a Protestant Portuguese Church, which, as it would be a public benefit for the town, may not be improper that the public should provide the same.

I am also well assured that the Hon'ble Society when so assisted and encouraged in their undertakings would from time to time send more Missionaries and cheerfully support and further so good a work.

I need not mention what advantage it will be to any Protestant Government to have the number of such subjects who are by their very religious principles bound to be haters and enemies, lessened not only, but reduced to the same principles, and which cannot well be expected so long as they have not an opportunity to be better instructed. I humbly beg therefore that your honor would take this into your kind consideration and add this one favor more to so many already bestowed.

Calcutta, 23rd November 1763.

JOHN ZACHAR : KIERNANDER.

On receipt of this request, the Council ordered that the house formerly used as the Collector's office should be made over to Mr. Kiernander, for the united purpose of accommodating a charity school, and serving as a church for the converts of the Mission.*

The S. P. C. K. report of 1766 affords a vivid glimpse of some of the missionary's pastoral trials. His chief opponents were naturally the Roman Catholics, who then were reckoned to constitute the major part of the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta, and against their clergy he is loud in his complaints.

In the year 1762, two earthquakes are recorded by Mr. Hirst under dates of April 2nd and July 13th, and also an Eclipse of the Sun on October the 17th. These he described in a communication to the Royal Society dated November 3rd of that year.†

The agitation of the earlier earthquake caused the waters in the Calcutta tanks to rise 6 feet, but it was especially alarming at Ghioratty, near Serampore, where Colonel Eyre Coote and H. M. troops were

* Proceedings, Nov. 25th, 1763.

† Phil. trans. liii., p. 256.

then in cantonment. The eclipse of the sun was observed when on a visit to Colonel Coote at this latter station.

On the death of Mr. Staveley, the Council found a colleague for Mr. Hirst in the person of the Chaplain of the King's Regiment then quartered at Fort William.

1762, November 4th. The Reverend Mr. Samuel Staveley having deceased of a fever on the . . . ultimo, whereby there becometh a vacancy in the Chaplaincy of this settlement. *Agreed*, we appoint the Rev. Mr. Parry Chaplain to His Majesty's 84th Regiment, to fill the same, and we recommend him in our next address to the Court to be confirmed therein.

On the 11th of April 1763 occurs a memorandum, which appears to be the earliest occurrence of the system of *monthly* payment of servants of Government which still obtains. Previously salaries were usually paid half-yearly on Lady Day and Michaelmas :—

Salaries of March. Mr. Hirst C. Rs. 171, Mr. Parry C. Rs. 171 (in addition to this they drew in this year Rs. 21-6-10 a month for house rent).*

On the 26th of June in the Marriage Register a still more interesting entry occurs :—

The Rev. Mr. William Parry and Miss Elizabeth Luinchant.

A few days after his wedding Parry was summoned to service in the field. On the 2nd of July the King's and Company's troops were ordered to assemble at Ghioratty, 18 miles up the Hooghly from Calcutta between Scramapore and Chandernagore, to march against the Nawab Mir Cassim. On the 7th a proclamation was issued by the Council dethroning Mir Cassim. On the 9th Parry made his will and proceeded, doubtless, at once from Calcutta to join his regiment. He was probably at the battle of Giriah, fought on the 2nd of August, for Broome in his History of the Bengal Army mentions (page 377) that Major Adams' force had in August 1763 'the advantage of a Chaplain for the first time on record in this (the Bengal) Army.' He says (page 380) that Divine Service was performed in camp at Arungabad on 4th August, and thanksgivings were offered for 'the late victory.' Broome's authority seems to be the so-called *Caraccioli's Life of Clive*.

In October of this year 1763 took place the hideous massacre of Patna, in which 150 gallant Englishmen were treacherously slaughtered by order of the dethroned Nawab of Bengal, Mir Cassim. The news of this reached Calcutta on the 5th of October and overwhelmed the settlement in gloom. It was ordered by the Board that a general

* 9th Rep. of Committee of Secrecy.

and deep mourning should be observed in the settlement for the space of fourteen days, commencing on the 2nd November, which was to be observed as a day of public fast and humiliation, with a sermon at St. John's Chapel and forms of prayer suitable to the occasion. It was also ordered that the evening before the 1st immediately after firing the eight o'clock gun, minute guns were to be fired from *H. M. S. Liverpool*, the old Fort, the new Fort, the Company's ships *Oesterly* and *Boscauen*, *H. M. S. Medway* and *York* at Kedgerree, and the Company's ships *Deptford*, *Lord Clive* and *Pigot* at Culpee, each to take up the firing in the order named after the previous ship or Fort had ceased firing.

The three deaths of clergymen that had occurred in Bengal in 1761 and 1762, and the consequent successive local appointments, naturally led the Court, in its obvious anxiety to provide a continuity of spiritual ministrations in its settlements, into sending out a Chaplain too many. So, somewhere about the time of Mr. Parry's marriage, the news was received of Mr. Furnival Bowen's appointment at home, and on the 17th of October he himself reported his arrival to the Council:—

The *Rev. Mr. Bowen* being arrived on the *Pigot* and called before the Board was asked, what sort of treatment he had received from the Captain during his passage. Having answered that he had no complaint to make, he enters upon his duty as one of the chaplains to this settlement.

There were thus accidentally three chaplains of the establishment, the youngest of whom, as alone having his appointment from the Court itself, taking the senior rank.

Furnival Bowen was a son of John Bowen, of Haverfordwest, in the Co. Pembroke, gentleman. He matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, on the 13th December 1755, at the age of 18. In 1760 he graduated B.A. He had therefore probably not completed his twenty-sixth year when he arrived.

The Court, writing on the 22nd February 1764, settled the precedence as follows:—

Mr. *Furnival Bowen* is to be the first chaplain in rank and we confirm your appointment of *Mr. Hirst*, who is to be the second.

If there is a vacancy by the decease of *Mr. Bowen* or *Mr. Hirst*, then we would have it filled up by the *Rev. Mr. Parry*, but if both the first mentioned gentlemen are at Fort William, he is to remain there in the rank of third chaplain until there is a vacancy by the death or coming away of either of them, or he is to succeed on any vacancy at our Presidency of Fort St. George or that of Bombay; but after Mr. Parry is provided for in any of the before mentioned modes you are to return to the original establishment of having no more at any one time than two chaplains.

The vacancy quickly came. Mr. Bowen continued in Calcutta until January 1764—about three months (he and Mr. Parry then sign the duplicates of Parish Registers for 1763 transmitted home)—and after that no trace of him has been found. He did not die in Calcutta. There is a pay-sheet of salaries for March, and in that only Mr. Hirst and Mr. Parry appear as drawing their C. Rs. 171 each. They appear to have this year lost the house-rent allowance;* and it is therefore satisfactory to learn that the Council again took the matter of pay boldly into its own hands, and on the 1st November 1764, all admonitions of the Court notwithstanding, resolved—

In view of the increase of Calcutta prices Rs. current 100 r. x. be added to the allowances of Chaplains and Head Surgeons.

This rule of Chaplains' pay—Rs. 271 a month without house allowance—continued without alteration at least until 1771.

By this time through increase of population—and also let us hope by reason of an improvement in the religious tone of the settlement—St. John's Chapel was found to be overcrowded Sunday after Sunday, the Chaplains and Church wardens accordingly approached the Council with a representation that, as there was not room in the chapel for half the people who wished to attend, the projected church in the new Fort William should be built with all expedition. The Council, however, merely recorded the petition on November 12th, 1764, and did nothing more.

On the 26th of November, Mr. Hirst resigned his chaplaincy and returned to Europe,† and Mr. Parry was left as sole chaplain.

Mr. Hirst sailed in the *Panther* in company with his friend Mr. Vansittart. On the voyage he sketched a view of the Cape of Good Hope engraved in 1766 by Peter Charles Cannot.—One of his early interests on reaching home must have been to assist in the elaboration of a great map of the three Indian provinces where he had served. This map is preserved in MS. in the British Museum‡ and is entitled “a map of Bengal, Bahar and Orixia laid down by Samuel Dunn from original surveys and journals collected by Henry Vansittart, Esq., late Governor of Bengal, and assisted by astronomical

* 9th Rep. Committee of Secrecy.

† His letter is given in Council Proceedings of this date.

‡ Brit. Mus. Maps. $\frac{CXV}{31}$ Roll. 2 Table.

observations communicated by the Rev. William Hirst, M.A., F.R.S., Chaplain to the above presidency."

On the 3rd June 1769 occurred another transit of Venus, and Hirst attended by Vansittart acted as one of the assistants to the Astronomer Royal, Nevil Maskelyne, at Greenwich; at the latter's request he drew up and communicated to the Royal Society an "Account of several phenomena observed during the ingress of Venus into the solar disk.*" This paper was accompanied by excellent diagrams.

At this time Hirst was living at Fig Tree Court in the Inner Temple, London, and appears to have been in easy circumstances. When, however, later in the same year his old friend, Vansittart, was appointed one of the three supervisors commissioned by the Honourable Company to enquire into the state of its affairs in Bengal, old friendship and doubtless his love of exploration induced him to accept the appointment of Chaplain to the little Commission. A Latin ode addressed to him, *Ad amicum navigaturum* on this occasion by James Kirkpatrick, is printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.†

The frigate with the Commission on Board left the Cape of Good Hope all well on the 27th December 1769, and was never heard of again.‡

The year following Mr. Hirst's resignation of the chaplaincy, viz. 1765, was signalized by an unfortunate event, wholly singular in the history of the chaplaincy. The chaplain was summarily dismissed from the service of the Company for solemnizing a marriage without the knowledge or leave of the President. The original autograph 'Consultation' [as distinguished from the fair-copied minutes termed *Proceedings*] exists containing the discussion in Council on this affair, and is very curious:—

1765, October 7th.—Lord Clive minutes to the Board a complaint against Mr. Parry chaplain of this Presidency for having without his consent or any previous intimation to him performed the ceremony of a marriage some days ago between Mr. John Johnstone and Miss Caroline Keene contrary to established customs and the order of the Court of Directors.§

* Phil. Trans. lix, pp. 228-235; also Gent. Mag. XL, p. 402.

† Vol. XXXIX, 550.

‡ The Dictionary of National Biography says that interesting letters from William Hirst are printed in Duncombe's collection of "Letters by several eminent persons deceased," 2nd Edit., 1773, iii, 84, 94, 142, 154, 159, and that another letter addressed by him in 1765 to Emanuel Mendes da Costa is preserved in original in Addl. MS. 28538 fo. 158.

§ The register gives "1765, September 9th, John Johnstone, Esq., of Council, and Caroline Keene, spinster."

The opinion of each member of Council follows, the minority saying that the omission was 'unintended,' and a severe reprimand to the minister would meet the justice of the case. However, the majority voted his dismissal. Against this decision, Mr. Ralph Leicester entered the following compassionate protest:—

Considering that a worthy clergyman and family must be ruined by this resolution I cannot but dissent to it as Mr. Parry's offence is not of so heinous a nature as to merit thus to be reduced with his family to distress.

The sentence of dismissal is in the original draft, followed by a suggested resolution in Lord Clive's handwriting to the effect that, at the request of Lord Clive, he be immediately re-appointed. But this has been scored out.

The offending marriage had been solemnized on the 9th September, and what makes the affair more curious is that the bridegroom was one of the members of Council.

Evidently Lord Clive wrote privately to the Court of Directors about the case, for at his express desire the Court, while approving the dismissal, sanctioned his re-instatement.*

Thus, from October 7th, 1765, to the date when this letter was received, say August or September of 1767, Mr. Parry continued at Calcutta in an anomalous position; for though formally dismissed, he never appears to have ceased to exercise the functions, nor to participate in the temporal privileges of his office.

Of these latter, two of a remarkable character come into prominent notice in the official records of this period of suspense.

The former of these began to take shape by the meeting, on the 18th September 1765, of a select committee to arrange a scheme whereby the whole trade of the three provinces in salt, betel, and tobacco might be carried out in monopoly, for the benefit of the superior servants of the Company. This scheme came into effect the next year, and on the 30th September 1766 the two chaplains (there being then but one), all field-officers, and the four head surgeons were admitted by the Governor and Council to the benefit of it.

This most valuable monopoly, claimed and exercised, it would almost seem, in defiance of orders of the Court, had 61 participants. These participants were incorporated under the title of 'The English Society of Merchants for buying and selling all the salt, betel-nut and tobacco in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, &c.' The capital subscribed was divided into 56½ shares of 43,000 current

* Letter, Court to Council, 4th March 1767, § 47.

rupees each. A chaplain was allowed to take up $\frac{3}{4}$ of a share, and must, therefore, have paid up on the allotment Rs. 28,666 $\frac{3}{4}$, which he, of course, obtained easily by loan. If the figures given in William Bolt's 'Considerations on Indian Affairs' (London, 1772), page 186, be correct, Mr. Parry at the close of the first year's transactions must have been credited with a dividend of £2,824 sterling, and at the close of the second year with £2,221.

The latter privilege was probably one of very old standing,* but it comes now into notice in a resolution of 29th September 1766. All the covenanted and military officials were allowed to purchase as much Madeira wine as they chose, on its arrival each season on the Company's ships, at its mere prime cost at the Island of Madeira with an addition of 20 % only. The privilege was confined apparently to Madeira wine, the reason being, no doubt, that being both a pure and a cheap wine, it was esteemed a necessary of life by Englishmen exposed to the deadly malaria and frequent epidemics that then infested the settlement. And, indeed, lamentable experience must have given all Englishmen in Calcutta a wise repugnance even for Lall Dighi water, though 'fined' by the abdar with copious doses of alum. It will be seen by the schedule of Mr. Parry's effects hereafter given that it must have been his wont to keep his table generously supplied with this sustaining beverage.†

Early in 1766—perhaps owing to the appearance of a malady, the nature of which cannot be ascertained, but which gradually

* Compare Letter, Court to Council, 27th January 1762.

† A writer in the *Calcutta Englishman* of May 17th, 1895, notes on this period that claret was the wine of all others most consumed by Anglo-Indians and after it Madeira; the latter was drunk during and the former after meals. It was ordinary for a man to finish his three bottles of claret at dinner daily, or two of white wine if he kept to one drink; even ladies drank a bottle of wine a day. . . .

The cost of these potations must have been considerable, for wines were dear. Mrs. Fay writing in 1782 gave the price of claret as sixty rupees a dozen, but it was not always so high, and varied considerably, not only with the quality of the wine, but also according to the quantity in the market. . . .

The following list of prices of beer and wine is taken from an advertisement which appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 8th April 1781:—"Hock rich and old, Sicca rupees 60 per dozen. French bottled Burgundy and Claret, highly flavoured Sa Rs. 30—Cyder remarkably fine Sa Rs. 10,—Strong Jamaica Rum, old and pure, Sa Rs. 25—Strong Cognac Brandy, old and pure, Sa Rs. 21—Elegant White Brandy Sa Rs. 32—Rum in small casks Sa Rs. 7 per gallon—Brandy ditto Sa Rs. 6 per gallon—London Porter and Pale Ale, light and excellent, Sa Rs. 150 per hogshead—ditto in half hhds Sa Rs. 80—ditto in quarter hhds Sa Rs. 40—ditto in bottles Sa Rs. 12 per dozen. The malt liquors are engaged sound and in perfect order. Empty bottles taken and allowed for. The prices of empty bottles, as other advertisements show, were for English wine bottles Sa Rs. 4 per dozen—Porter Sa Rs. 3 per dozen—French bottles Sa Rs. 3 per dozen—and pints Sa Rs. 2 per dozen."

incapacitated Mr. Parry for public duties, and which eventually terminated his existence in this world—the Council seem to have obtained the loan from Madras of the *Rev. John Thomas*, junior Chaplain there (1765 to 1777), who apparently officiated until the arrival, in about December 1766, of the *Rev. Thomas Blomer*, (B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, 1756), late Chaplain of Bombay, who had, at the instance of his friends, been transferred to Calcutta as second Chaplain.*

This Mr. Blomer had but just come out from England. He had been ordained priest by Richard, Bishop of London, at St. James' Palace on the 3rd March 1765. He lived but to see the foundation of Mr. Kiernander's mission church laid in May of 1767, and to participate in one recorded official act, *viz.*, the appeal to the Council of Mr. Parry and himself, with Messrs. Daniel Hoissard and Benjamin Laccam, the Church-wardens, for an increase of Aroot Rs. 2,000 a year to the rent of the Court-house:—

To enable them to extend their assistance to many indigent old inhabitants now in Calcutta who are really objects of charity.†

This request was granted, and the charity stock thereafter realized a rent of Cos. Rs. 4,160 per annum from the Town Hall or Court-house.‡

During that hot season thirteen covenanted servants of the Company died, and one of them was Mr. Blomer—on the 15th of June.

During the months he officiated, Mr. Thomas appears to have conceived such a preference for Calcutta over Madras that he obtained, through his friends at home, a promise of a transfer there at the next vacancy.§ And the Council doubtless, remembering his wish, wrote to Madras for him after Mr. Blomer's death,|| but he never came.

A new burying ground was at this time opened in Calcutta; its preparation hastened because of the sickly season, and was 'consecrated' by Mr. Parry in May or June 1768. The Council granted the Chaplain an allowance for palanquin-bearers thither on account of its great distance from the town. It is now called that of 'Park Street South;' the first interment within this ground took place on the 25th August 1767. Up to that time since the foundation of the factory, the sole place for English interments had been the western half of the present St. John's churchyard.

* Letter, Court to Council, 19th Feb. 1766. 'Proceedings,' December 18th, 1766.

† 'Proceedings,' Ap. 29th 1767. Original Letter exists.

‡ See 'Proceedings,' June 27th, 1768.

§ See Letter, Court to Council, 4th March 1767, § 48.

|| Original 'Consultations,' June 18th, 1767.

Mr. Parry's malady increased, and on the 6th September, the Council appointed the *Rev. Thomas Yate* as his colleague. We shall be particularly concerned with him presently.*

The Court hearing of this appointment cancelled it, Mr. Yate not having obtained its license to visit its factories. And at the same time it dismissed Mr. Parry also as being past his work,† and ordered them both to be sent home by the next ship. Poor Parry, however, never knew this fresh mortification: he was in his grave five months before this letter was written.

On the 13th of April 1769, he departed this life. His Will, made a few days after his marriage, was proved by his widow on the 2nd of May 1769. It runs as follows ‡:—

This is the last will and Testament of me *William Parry* of Calcutta in the Kingdom of Bengal in the East Indies Clerk, Chaplain to Her Majesty's 84th Regiment of foot.

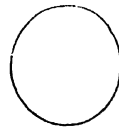
After my just debts and funeral expenses are discharged all the rest and residue of my Estate of what nature or kind soever, which I now have or hereafter may be possessed of, or, intitled unto in the East Indies or elsewhere, I give, devise and bequeath unto my beloved wife whom I nominate constitute and appoint executrix of this my last will hereby revoking all former will or wills by me at any time heretofore made. In witness whereof I have hereto set my hand and seal in Calcutta this ninth day of July in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and sixty-three.

Signed, sealed &c. . . .

THOS. WOODWARD.

JAMES CAMPBELL.

WM. PARRY.



The Will is accompanied by the following:—

An Inventory of the effects of the late Rev. William Parry, Chaplain of Calcutta.

An upper roomed house with garden§ and furniture as follows—

2 Burrows with Book Cases. 1 China Burrow. 1 Cloaths Press. 1 Large do., 1 do. do. 2 Chests of Drawers. 1 do. 1 Large Cott. 2 Small do. 2 Pairs of large Mahogany Tables. 2 Black wood do. 2 Card Tables, 3 Small Black wood Tables. 1 Clock 1 Watchcase. 1 Large Couch. 24 Mahogany chairs. 6 do. do. 5 Couches [&c., &c., further chairs, looking glasses 26 Prints &c., &c.,] 1 Fowling piece. 1 Spying glass. 1 Tea kettle. 2 Chaffing dishes. 1 Chariot. 2

* See Letter, Court to Council, of September 15th, 1769, § 36.

† See § 35 of the letter last mentioned.

‡ M. C. Eccl., 1589.

§ Pottah No. 147 in the Collector's office seems to show that this compound contained 2 bigahs and 4 cottas, and that the ground rent thereon was 9 Rs. sicca a year.

Manion Horses. 1 Little White do. 1 Gray do. 1 Sett of Harness. 2 Chests full of Cootnoys.

Liquors in the Godowns 2 Pipes of Madeira 1 Chest of Claret. 1 do. of Madeira. 1 do. of Porter.

Plate 1 Bread-Basket. 1 Silver kitchen. 1 Tea Pot with a salver. 1 Coffee Pott. 1 Milk Pott. 1 Punch Strainer. 3 Small Salvers. 1 Large mug. 4 Salt Sellers. 2 Sugar dishes. 1 Marrow spoon. 1 Little cup. 8 Candlesticks. 2 dozen Large spoons. 1 dozen Tea spoons. 1 Soup spoon. 1 Ring. 2 Saucepans.

Writing Apparel Books, &c. 1 Gold watch. 1 Silver do. 2 Bonds on the Hon'ble Company for £1,500. 1 ditto £500. 1 do. £291. 1 do. £250. 1 do. £100.

Calcutta, July 2nd 1769.

ELIZ. PARRY. *Executrix.*

[Filed 25th September 1770]

On the 2nd July 1770, Mrs. Parry married Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Winwood, of the Hon. Company's service.

CHAPTER XI.

1768 to 1782.

THOMAS YATE, Mr. Parry's surviving colleague, was the son of the Rev. Samuel Yate, Curate-in-charge of the Parish of Helmdon, North Hants, from 1731 to 1740, and of Anna his wife. He was apparently his parents' eldest child; and as his baptism stands registered at Helmdon as on 'January 6th, 1736'—that is, probably, to say 1737 according to our present reckoning—we may confidently fix his birth as in December of 1736. On the 11th of February 1755—in his 19th year—he matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford. In 1758 he graduated B.A., but does not appear to have proceeded to the Master's degree. When, by whom, or on what title he was ordained does not appear. We first hear of him as travelling with Sir Charles Hudson, Commander of the *Talbot* as private tutor to his son.* Sir Charles visited Calcutta in 1768. The services of another clergyman in the settlement were much needed just at that time. In the former hot weather 13 of the Company's covenanted servants had died, and among them *Thomas Blomer*, the Junior Chaplain—two Chaplains only being then the Company's establishment in Bengal. The surviving Chaplain, *William Parry*, being in poor health was frequently unable to perform his public duties.

The Council should have filled up the vacancy caused by Mr. Blomer's death by summoning from Madras the *Rev. John Thomas*, whose friends had obtained the Court's leave for this transfer; but the opportune arrival of Mr. Yate suggested his appointment instead, and on the 6th of September 1768 in his 32nd year he became Junior Chaplain. The Council thus reports in justification of its action:—

The frequent inability of Mr. Parry our present Chaplain to perform the duties of the church, the necessity of preserving Religion and decorum in the Settlement and the little prospect we have left of your complying with our request of sending chaplains from Europe this season were reasons that induced the president to desire that Sir Charles Hudson commander of the *Talbot* would permit Mr. Yates a clergyman whom he had brought out as a Tutor to his son who is come abroad with him to remain here as he bears a very worthy character and is highly spoken of by every person of his acquaintance.

* B. G. to Ct., Sep. 13th, 1768, § 146, and Sep. 15th, 1769, § 36.

Sir Charles Hudson having acquiesced with the president's request, and Mr. Yates having also assented we have entertained that gentleman as a chaplain on this Establishment and hope you will confirm him.*

Thomas Yate was probably not a man of much individuality of character. He was gentle, amiable, and good natured; quiet, contented, pious and conscientious, with about, as we may presume, as just an estimation of his sacerdotal stewardship as was prevalent among the Clergy of George III's reign—and nothing beyond. His memory lingered long in Calcutta; and the writer of *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*, published in Calcutta in 1829, even records his name in a list of the Presidency Chaplains with this enthusiastic remark 'That man would have added dignity to the crosier and the hallowed lawn!'

Almost the whole of the spiritual duties of the chaplaincy must have devolved at first upon Yate owing to the feeble health of the Senior Chaplain, and he must have had to apply himself to redressing much slackness. In one respect the Council gave him particular instruction. The Church Register having been found to have been imperfectly kept, the following order was passed—

Ordered that it be observed as a standing rule in future for the Chaplains to lay before us the first Monday in every month an exact copy of the Parish Register, and that this duty be the particular department of Mr. Yate. [These Returns are now submitted quarterly through the Registrar of the Diocese.]

A Chaplain's pay at this time was fixed by the Court as £230 per annum for salary and £162 for 'Diet and all other allowances.' A sum of Rs. 30 a month, however, had been in addition allowed by the Bengal Council to one of the Chaplains for the wages of palanquin-bearers to convey him to and from the new Burying Ground for the very numerous funerals.

On the 13th of April 1769 the Rev. William Parry died, and Yate became Senior Chaplain.

Of Calcutta at the period at which we are now arrived—that which immediately succeeded the departure of Lord Clive in 1767—a graphic description is found in the *Letters of Mrs. Kindersley from the East Indies*, &c.† It is worth quoting somewhat at length:—

LETTER 65. *Calcutta, June 1768.*

I think I have never given you any account of the town of Calcutta; indeed after Madras, it does not appear much worthy describing; for although it is large,

* B. G. to Ct., 13th Sep. 1768, §§ 146 and 147

† London 1777.

with a great many good houses in it, and has the advantage of standing upon the banks of a river, it is as awkward a place as can be conceived; and so irregular, that it looks as if all the houses had been thrown up in the air, and fallen down again by accident as they now stand; people keep constantly building; and every one who can procure a piece of ground to build a house upon, consults his own taste and convenience, without any regard to the beauty or regularity of the town; besides, the appearance of the best houses is spoiled by the little straw huts, and such sort of incumbrances, which are built up by the servants for themselves to sleep in: so that all the English part of the town, which is the largest, is a confusion of very superb and very shabby houses, dead walls, straw huts, warehouses, and I know not what.

The most like a street is the *Buzar*, the name they call every place by where anything is to be sold: the *Buzar* is full of little shabby-looking shops, called *Boutiques*; they are kept by black people.

The English seldom visit these places themselves, but depend on their *Banians*; and other servants, for the purchase of everything: indeed if they do not it is much the same, for at all events they are sure to be cheated.

About the middle of the town, on the river's edge, stands the old fort, memorable for the catastrophe of the Black Hole, so much talked of in England; it was in one of the apartments in it that the wretched sufferers were confined. The fort is now made a very different use of; the only apology for a Church is in some of the rooms in it, where divine service is sometimes performed.

In a distinct part of the town reside the Armenians, and the people called the Portuguese; each of these have their own Churches; and the Portuguese keep up the processions and pageantry of the Romish Church, as far as they are permitted; but are obliged to perform it all within their own walls. The chief connection we have with these people is, employing some of the women as servants, or the men as writers, or some times cooks. . . .

Here is not, as at Madras, a black town near for the servants to reside in; therefore Calcutta is partly environed by their habitations, which makes the roads rather unpleasant; for the huts they live in, which are built of mud and straw, are so low that they can scarcely stand upright in them; and, having no chimnies, the smoke of the fires with which they dress their victuals, comes all out at the doors, and is perhaps more disagreeable to the passenger than to themselves.

The new fort, an immense place, is on the river side about a mile below the town. If all the buildings which are intended within its walls are finished, it will be a town within itself; for besides houses for the engineers and other officers who reside at Calcutta, there are apartments for the company's writers, barracks for soldiers, magazines for stores &c.

The town of Calcutta is likewise daily increasing in size notwithstanding which, the English inhabitants multiply so fast, that houses are extremely scarce Paper, or wainscot, are improper, both on account of the heat, the vermin, and the difficulty of getting it done, the rooms are therefore all whitened walls, but plastered in pannels, which has a pretty effect; and are generally ornamented with prints, looking glasses, or whatever else can be procured from Europe; the floors are likewise plaster, covered all over with fine matt, which is nailed down; for although carpets are manufactured in some parts of the country, they are such an addition to the heat, that they are seldom made use of; the rooms are few, but mostly very large and lofty; many of the new built houses

have glass windows, which are pleasant to the eye, but not so well calculated for the climate as the old ones, which are made of cane.

Furniture is so exorbitantly dear, and so very difficult to procure, that one seldom sees a room where all the chairs and couches are of one sort; people of the first consequence are forced to pick them up as they can, either from the Captains of European ships, or from China, or having some made by the blundering carpenters of the country, or send for them to Bombay, which are generally received about three years after they are bespoke; so that those people who have great good luck, generally get their houses tolerably well equipped by the time they are quitting them to return to England.

Beds, or as they are always called cotts, are no very expensive part of furniture; the wood work which is exceedingly slight, is made to take in pieces; the furniture is either gauze or muslin, made to put on all at once; and people sleep on a thin mattress or quilt; one sheet, and two or three pillows, complete the bedding; so that when it is taken in pieces the whole lays in a small compass, and is easily removed from one place to another: whenever people travel, they always carry their beds with them.

In the country round the town, at different distances, are a number of very pretty houses, which are called garden houses, belonging to English gentlemen; for Calcutta, besides its being a large town, is not esteemed a healthy spot; so that in the hot season all those who can, are much at these garden houses, both because it is cooler and more healthy.

A little out of the town is a clear airy spot free from smoke or any encumbrances called the *corse* (because it is a road the length of a *corse* or two miles) in a sort of ring or rather angle, made on purpose to take the air in, which the company frequent in their carriages about sunset, or in the morning before the sun is up.

The curious confusion between *cors* and *course* in the last paragraph is obvious.

Mrs. Kindersley chanced to visit Calcutta a period when Mr. Parry's increasing malady was causing frequent intermission in the Sunday services. It is pretty evident that the regular daily worship of older days had been by this period abandoned. Her allusion to St. John's Chapel as being 'some of the rooms' in the old fort suggests that the old Court of Guard and adjacent barrack room with their verandah had received little more than a western enclosing wall (and the high pitched roof shown in old drawings) to adapt them to their sacred purpose.

The vacancy in the second chaplaincy caused by the death of the Rev. Thomas Blomer on the 15th June 1767 was filled up by the Court without much delay. The following paragraph occurs in the General Letter of 11th November 1768:—

§ 79. We have appointed the Rev. Mr. John Pennington to be one of the Chaplains on the Bengal Establishment who will proceed to you on the ship Royal Charlotte. He is to be allowed £230 per annum for salary and Rs. 162 per

annum for diet and all others allowances which is the same as appears by the last accounts to have been paid to the Rev. Mr. Parry your present Chaplain, and this is to be the established allowance to the Chaplains at your presidency and not to be encreased on any pretence whatever without our orders.

These sums in sterling taken together appear to represent the consolidated Rs. 271 a month fixed locally in November 1764.

A month before the letter was written, however, the Bengal Council had, as will be remembered, appointed *Thomas Yate* to the vacancy: and on the death of Mr. Parry on the 13th April 1769, Mr. Yate was left as sole Chaplain in the settlement.

Towards the latter part of this year the Rev. *Joseph Baines*, Chaplain of Fort Marlborough, obtained leave of the Governor and Council there to quit the 'West Coast,' and came to Calcutta,* where he officiated until early in 1772.†

On the 15th of May 1770 the President acquainted the Board that he had received private intelligence to the effect that Mr. Pennington, the Chaplain appointed at home, had died at Bombay, and suggested that Mr. Baines should be formally appointed in his place.

Agreed, that Mr. Baines be appointed as his character and behaviour merit our approbation.

In the meantime the Court knowing nothing of—and cancelling when they learnt of them—these two local appointments, proceeded to fill up Mr. Parry's vacant place. In the minutes of the Court of Directors, 1st November 1769, is the following appointment—

Resolved by the ballot unanimously that the Rev. Mr. James Burn be appointed one of the Company's Chaplains, at Fort William.

Ordered, that on Mr. Burn's producing the usual certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of London of either of their approval of the Court's appointment a warrant be made out to him for £50 for fresh provisions on the voyage out.

Mr. Burn, or as he is usually afterwards called 'Dr. Burn' (his degree has not been ascertained), was then 39 or 40 years of age; he sailed for Bengal in the *Lord Mansfield* ‡

Burn must have arrived about September or October of 1770. Mr. Yate was then officiating in the senior chaplaincy, and Mr. Baines in the junior.

The year 1770 was the dreadful famine year *Ohhcyattar Shâler mannantarâ*—that is, 'the famine of seventy-six'—the Bengali year

* Bengal Public Proceedings, 1770, January 9th.

† B. P. P., 1771, Sept. 9th, and 1772, Feb. 20th.

‡ Gen. letter Court to Council, March 23-d, 1770 § 84.

being 1176. Of this year Macaulay writes: 'The very streets of Calcutta were blocked up by the dying and the dead'—it is said that there was then prevalent too a dreadful fever with a cold stage of 12 hours which carried off 80,000 natives and 1,500 Europeans in Bengal.

In this same year 1770 occurs the earliest intimation that has yet come to light of the extension of the Company's Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment beyond two individuals. This projected extension consisted in the assignment of a Chaplain to each of the Company's three Brigades of troops. Such clergymen's salaries were rated at Rs. 4 a day *pay* and Rs. 6 a day *batta*, and each was to be allowed two baggage boats when travelling with his brigade. This extension of establishment was apparently accompanied by a provision of pension to retired Chaplains, who were to receive, provided the applicant did not possess £2,000 value in personal property, five shillings a day, or £91-5-0 a year. It does not, however, appear that any Chaplains of brigades were actually appointed in 1770.*

It will have been noticed that in the year 1770 both the Chaplains had been locally and therefore irregularly appointed. In the March of that year the letter received from the Court ordered that Mr. Yate be 'discharged from the Chaplainship of your presidency and sent to Europe by the first ship.'

The reason for this summary expulsion being not the irregularity of his appointment, but his want of the Company's license to dwell in India at all.

That gentleman was carried to India without our privity or consent and consequently you had no authority from us to entertain him.

The Court also wholly disapproved of the transference of Mr. Baines from Benecoolen to Calcutta, and on the 9th September 1771, the Council was constrained by the following intimation from the Court transmitted from Fort Marlborough to 'urge Mr. Baines to comply' with the Company's orders in his respect:—

We are much displeased with the unlimited permission you gave your Chaplain Mr. Baines to proceed to another part of India on his alleged indisposition without any certificate from your surgeons . . . you yourselves in your minute of consultations treat his indisposition very lightly only saying 'Mr. Baines did not enjoy the best of health' and it further appears that upon his reaching Madras, he went to Bengal, and that by your assigning him payment of his allowances during his removal you even doubted his return. We hope however Mr. Baines did not intend entirely to desert his function on the West Coast to gain

* Ninth Report of Committee of Secrecy, pp. 521, 536, 556, 573.

an establishment at another Presidency, as we will never allow of such an invasion of our authority, being determined to keep such appointments in our own hands. . . . We therefore strictly enjoin you forthwith to recall Mr. Baines to his duty on the West Coast, and in case of his refusal to strike off his allowances, and if he shall absent himself after such recall, you are to advise the presidency where he resides of this our resolution and that it is an order that he be sent to England by the first conveyance.*

Mr. Baines, nearly six months after receiving the Council's advice to him of this order—evidently the local authorities were not very urgent—requested, it was on the 20th February 1772, a passage from Calcutta to Madras on the *Lord Holland* in consequence of the Court's order. The passage was granted, and he duly returned to his original cure.

With Mr. Yate, however, despite the Court's order, the Council would not part; therefore as he could not be kept at St. John's Chapel, especially as a colleague to Dr. Burn had lately arrived in the person of the *Rev. William Johnson*, they appointed him as First Garrison Chaplain of the new Fort William—the first of the new Brigade Chaplains, and on the 1st of January 1772 he began the duties. His salary at this time would have risen to Rs. 535 a month, and there is a hint of 'favours' from the Government and benefactions from merchants which must have much augmented a chaplain's income. No chapel had been built in the Fort at that time. Mr. Yate probably conducted the parade services in the open air. The Court at home, however, entirely refused to recognize this appointment either. Mr. Yate's original lack of license either to sail to India at all or to live there when landed was apparently an incurable defect in his qualifications. Accordingly in October 1773 the arrival of C. S. Harcourt brought a letter from Court containing the following paragraph which could not be ignored :—

Having supplied you with two Chaplains your reasons for detaining the *Rev. Mr. Yate* are at an end. We therefore repeat our former order for sending him to Europe which must be done by one of the first ships after receipt hereof as a further disobedience to our orders will subject you to our highest displeasure.

There was nothing for it therefore but to transmit this order to the Garrison Chaplain, who in his reply only begged to be allowed to go not by one of the first but by one of the later ships that he might have time to prepare for the winding up of his affairs and the voyage. The Council granted him this final relaxation of the Court's orders: 'he may have time to prepare and go on any ship of the season.' Thus,

* *Letter to Fort Marlborough, 11th January 1772, § 24.* A paragraph to the like tenour is found in the Bengal letter last quoted.

though no evidence on the point is at present forthcoming, it is to be presumed that at some time in the latter months of 1774 Thomas Yate again saw his native land.

During 1775, 1776 and 1777 there is no trace of his movements. He was anxious to return to Bengal, and at last obtained a regular appointment from the Court to his former charge at Fort William. But instead of sailing from London in a Company's ship he waited in France for a passage in a French vessel—perhaps he had taken up his old employment as a private tutor and was travelling as governor to some young gentleman on the Continent when he received his Calcutta appointment. At any rate on the 27th of January 1778, in the 42nd year of his age, he embarked at L'Orient on the French ship *Brisson* bound for Pondicherry, having with him as his only English companion the *Mr. Macintosh*, whose travels published anonymously in 1782 are said to have been printed at the expense of Sir Philip Francis and loaded by him with injurious matter as part of his scheme to asperse the character and compass the overthrow of Governor-General Warren Hastings. From his letters the following account of the voyage is drawn.

The two gentlemen had been detained for some time at L'Orient because private ships owing to the impending rupture between the Courts of Versailles and London had been forbidden to take out 'clearances' for India. The immediate danger appeared for the moment to have passed, and the expedition which had been fitting out at L'Orient and Nantz to attack the English factories in the East Indies were secretly directed to Boston to fight the English on the North-American side in the war of Independence.

The East Indian adventure having been thus postponed, the *Brisson* obtained her papers and put to sea, and first she touched at Madeira, whence Mr. Macintosh on Sunday, the 15th of March, the day of the ship's departure from the Island, wrote a letter to a lady cousin of his in which he alludes to "the kind and unremitted attention of Captain Chezeaux of the *Brisson*;" and "the goodness of my honest fellow-passenger, the reverend Mr. Y—e." He changed his opinion soon afterwards of the captain, but his regard for Mr. Yate only increased with acquaintance.

In a later letter to the same correspondent, dated 3rd June 1778, the *Brisson* is described as "easy; but rather a slow than a fast sailor," but so confined in accommodation that, says Mr. Macintosh—and he suggests that the low stature of the French people may have

occasioned the construction—"there is not in the ship a cabin which is not too low for my moderate stature by some inches." However, the ship's 'council-chamber' was assigned to him in addition to his original cabin, and in this he had 'a very handsome and commodious cot suspended.' Mr. Macintosh's chief grievance, however, was the French sea-cookery, and as Mr. Yate shared this trouble with him, the narrator's description shall be given *verbatim* :—

It must be allowed, the provisions, which are abundantly plentiful, are not of the best quality; the cookery too is bad; but the bread, pastry, and vermicelli soup, are excellent. The poultry are so old, that hungry bull-dogs would find it a labour to tear the fowls in pieces. The hams are rotten; the salted beef old and hard, and everything proper for human food, boiled to rags and covered with nastiness. What heterogeneous compounds of pork, beef, geese, ducks, fowl, tripe, fish, bread, cabbage, onions, grease, &c. ! These ingredients are boiled up together into a mixture to which they give the name of soup. Their ragouts and sauces are made up of oil, vinegar and garlic. Sometimes a roasted duck or a lean mutton chop, rescued from a load of nauseous sauces, is presented in compliment to me and Mr. Y—e. But omelets of not very fresh eggs (for they have been on board now five months) have been my chief subsistence since I left Madeira. The captain, Mr. Y—e, and I breakfast and sup apart in the round-house. We dine in the *grande chambre*, with the six senior officers, the surgeon, capuchin friar as chaplain, two more passengers and the midshipmen in rotation. . . .

Mr. Macintosh occupied himself chiefly in writing during the voyage—political essays he hints. 'But in these subjects,' says he, 'I am reserved, not only with' the ship's company . . .

but even with my companion, Mr. Yate; who, by the way, will never disturb me by any impertinent enquiries, for he has not a grain of political curiosity in his constitution. I now and then say, that this is a fortunate disposition; it enables a man to kill time and easily reconciles him to confinement.

The extreme contentment of the writer with the kindness of the amiable captain to which he is constantly recurring in the remainder of the letter changed one month later.

On the 5th of July, I had the mortification to discover that the *Brisson* was a prison and Captain de Chezeaux its vigilant keeper. I found, farther, that the chains of two British subjects had been forged in L'Orient.

Captain de Chezeaux had brought out positive orders with him from the Commissary of L'Orient that his two English passengers were not to be permitted to land at Bourbon. Accordingly—

my companion, the Rev. Mr. Y—and myself, beheld all the passengers, officers, and crew, people of all nations, complexions, sects and languages,

refreshing and amusing themselves on the delicious Isle of Bourbon, while we, like two criminals, were confined to the ship. . . . During the time we continued in this situation, which was seven days, we were exhibited as a spectacle to numerous visitants from shore, as if we had been monsters confined in a den, or malefactors in a prison; but it is justice to say, that those visitants brought many refreshments, of which we were in dreadful necessity.

The 'dreadful necessity' meant apparently that they both suffered from sea-scurvy; and the explanation of their detention as prisoners was that hostilities had commenced between England and France. They learnt more of the rigour with which they were to be treated on arriving in Pondicherry Roads, which they did on the 6th of August. They wrote twice, on the 7th and the 9th, to the French Governor of the Settlement, *General Bellecombe*, before a reply came, they in the meanwhile having been transferred from the *Brisson* to the frigate *Pintade* 'armed *en flûte*.' They had begged to be furnished with a passport to the limits of French territory, a small vessel to carry their baggage, and palanquins and bearers to Madras. The Governor replied—

Je n'ay pas voulu vous laisser sur un vaisseau, qui alloit combattre ceux de votre nation; ce qui m'a déterminé à vous faire passer sur la *Pintade*, ou j'ay donné des ordres pour que vous fussiez bien traité. Je ne puis point vous faire descendre dans une ville qui va être affligée, et j'ay les raisons très fortes, pour m'empêcher que vous ne vous rendriez à Madras.

The fact was the *Brisson* had arrived one day too late, or the Englishmen might have had their liberty. The previous day news had arrived that war had broken out in India. Chandernagore in Bengal had been taken by the English on the 8th of June and General Munro's forces—those of the Company and the Nawab—were on their march to attack Pondicherry. On the 8th of August Munro arrived behind Pondicherry and summoned the Governor to surrender.

On board the *Pintade* Mr. Yate and his companion suffered a combination of hardships and terrors that put the trifling inconveniences to which the Captain of the *Brisson* had subjected them out of their heads.

In the first place the English squadron of five sail under Sir Edward Vernon appeared from the northward and was immediately engaged by the French squadron of an equal number of ships, but larger, under the Chevalier de Tronjolly in the Pondicherry Roads. An action of 74 minutes was fought between them on the 10th. It may be imagined what an anxious situation it was for Mr. Yate and his companions on board a French frigate—spectators of a sea fight between England and France. At length the French squadron gave way and

fled southward. On the 13th the *Pintade* herself engaged in active service, which is sarcastically described as the scuttling of a native boat lying at anchor and laden only with firewood, for the sake of kidnapping as slaves her miserable crew of 11 Madrassies.

The two Englishmen were disgusted at this cruel deed and even terrified, for the narrator continues—

Frightened beyond measure, without provisions, liquor, or water, and with only rye flour of the coarsest quality, we cruized to a great distance, even as far as Ceylon, until the evening of the 24th of August, when, being on the road of Pondicherry, a *quartier marron*, or Indian boat, brought a written intimation from Mr. Bellecombe, that an English squadron lay at anchor to the windward of the road, and the French to the southward. We instantly put about, and in order to get provisions, as well as to avoid the danger of being taken, we steered, having one hundred and seven men on board, to the savage island of *Nicobar* (near the west end of Sumatra) where we got cocoanuts, a few chickens, and water.

The warlike commander swore that rather than let his frigate be captured by one of less force than a line of battleship 'he would blow her up with his own hand, although he had not a boat to save either himself, his crew, nor his prisoners.' Besides the terrors of such menaces, the two unfortunate prisoners had to suffer horrible privations and sickness.

We were chilled with rains pouring into our confined cabins through the parched seams of an apparent wreck; devoured by vermin, and corrupted by nastiness; and laboured [as they did for months afterwards] under a malady which baffles all the power of medicine, the sea-scurvy accompanied with bile.

Of all the vermin of that horrible frigate Yate and his companion complained most of the cockroaches by which their 'bodies were deeply wounded,' they 'could not undress at night on account of the vermin.' Famine threatened also. They were limited to one meal in 24 hours when 12 persons were 'reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon a Nicobar chicken, which is about the size of a large pigeon; and about two pounds of salted pork which upon a less dreadful occasion' they would have considered 'rotten and nauseous.' When Mr. Yate's companion wrote that they had no *liquor* he must have meant that there was none in the ship's stores, for he managed to save out of his own provision for the voyage to Pondichery 20 dozen of claret* which they drank out of the shells of Nicobar cocoanuts.

After having endured all kinds of hardship and mortifications—for the Captain of the *Pintade* visited his antipathy to their nation upon his two English prisoners—on the 23rd October 1778 the *Pintade* reached the Mauritius and lay in *Port Lewis Harbour*, Isle of France, whence Mr. Macintosh wrote on Mr. Yate's behalf and

* See note to page 136.

his own to *Monsieur Launay*, an old friend of Mr. Yate's,—then *Aide-de-Camp* to the Governor-General of Mauritius, the *Chevalier de la Brillane*, requesting his good offices in obtaining their release. The only reply to this was a visit from M. Launay with orders that the prisoners should be removed to the Town Prison *Fort Blanc*, two miles from Port Lewis, until their healths should be sufficiently restored by this indulgence to allow of their being shipped back to France. They had liberty to live at their own expense while in jail.

We were instantly conveyed [writes Mr. Yate's companion] with our baggage by water to the fort. There being but two apartments in that building, and both of them occupied, Major Thomé civilly gave us the choice of lodging either in the kitchen, or under a shed, where gun carriages were kept, or in the gun room with the soldiers. I asked the Major, if, being prisoners of war, we were accounted as criminals? "No, certainly not!" I then said, that as the kitchen was infinitely worse than any dungeon, it would be better to run the risk of death at sea, than to perish miserably in so horrible a mansion; therefore I entreated him to embark us in one of the vessels that was to sail within a day or two for Europe.

Mr. Yate appears to have borne his share of sickness, terrors, and privations with a gentle uncomplaining fortitude, but the prospect of such imprisonment fairly overcame him.

The Reverend Mr. Y—, adds the narrator. *desired that one of the soldiers might be permitted to shoot him through the head.*

They lay that night on the guard-room benches and the next day were removed to the third floor of the town-steeple—an airy and, for a prison, a delightful situation. They certainly slept close at night; their common apartment admitted their two beds, each about 24 inches broad, and allowed a space of 15 inches between them, but then they had abundance of fresh air and exercise by day, indispensably needful if they were to get well of the scurvy, for they had access to the terraced roof of the tower and to that of the main guard and post gate. They had good food, too, but were charged at the rate of 600 livres a month for it without wine. On the 7th of November 1778 Mr. Macintosh writes—

The king has lately accommodated us with a couple of stools, two hospital beds, two water goblets, and two rusty iron candle-sticks. M. Launay's kindness to his old acquaintance, Mr. Y—, supplies our other wants.

At this time, too, they were promised to be transported back to Europe—at their own charges—3,000 livres each—in an old crazy bark.

On the 13th of November they were on board the *Favori* and lying in St. Denis's Road—perhaps this was the 'old crazy bark'

they had expected to be shipped upon. Apparently previous to embarking they had been offered a lodging under the roof of a baker ashore, and under the surveillance of a military sergeant. This proposition they for some reason or other thought proper to reject with scorn.

On the 10th of December the *Favori* weighed anchor and sailed out of St. Paul's Bay for Europe, their fellow-passengers being M. de la Combe, procureur du Roy, described as a misshapen dwarf, ceremonious, irritable, sarcastic,—with his wife and children, the Abbé de Fontaine, Chief of the Apostolic Missionaries, who 'did honour to his cloth,' and a M. Kerbalanee, one of the Breton nobility, 'a cautious, cool, civil Frenchman, having as well the phlegm as the figure of a Dutchman.' The Captain was 'Le Sieur Deniel,' a drunkard.

On the 14th of January 1779 Mr. Macintosh managed after great persuasion to convince the captain that as he and Mr. Yate had paid their fare they were not prisoners, and obtained leave to transship upon a Danish snow bound for the Cape of Good Hope. Mr. Macintosh did all the fighting for this enlargement. 'My honest fellow-sufferer the Rev. Mr. Yate,' he writes, 'was silent and passive, ready to adopt any means which I should approve.'

It is to be presumed that Mr. Yate reached the Cape with Mr. Macintosh on the arrival of the snow there on the 22nd of the same month.

While Mr. Yate was probably at the Cape awaiting a ship to Fort William, news of his imprisonment by the French arrived at that presidency. There exists an autograph minute of Mr. Warren Hastings, dated February 15th, 1779 (No. 10), which reports as follows:—

The G. G. rep's to y^e Bd. y^t he is inf^d by Capⁿ Lennox of the Southⁿ & by an Italian priest who was a pass^r w^h him y^e Rev. Mr. Yates who had y^e Co.'s Lisence to return to Bengal arrived at Pondicherry in the ship *Brisson* during the siege but was compelled by Mr. Bellecombe to return imm^{ly} to y^e Isle of France where he probably still remains. I beg leave to recommend that a part^r application be made in the letter now proposed to be addressed to y^e Gov^r of y^e French Islands for his release on parole & permⁿ to return with the cartel ship.

The letter was written accordingly and the cartel ship despatched. She did not return, however, being seized and detained at Mauritius. Before news of this detention reached Calcutta Mr. Yate himself arrived, but by what ship does not appear.

The duties of Garrison Chaplain had, during the absence of a clergyman, been carried on by laymen. Mr. Yate found a Captain

William Greene officiating. He had been regularly appointed to the duties and resigned on Mr. Yate's return. Mr. Yate resumed charge on the 1st of December 1779.

Mr. Yate appears as Garrison Chaplain in November of 1780, when he unfortunately asked his friend William Johnson, then Junior Chaplain at St. John's Chapel in the old Fort, to officiate for him at the funeral of a Lieutenant-Colonel John Green. Mr. Johnson attended accordingly at the ground now called *Park Street South Cemetery*, waited an hour and a half, and then an attack of sciatica coming on, he returned home, but meeting the procession on its way through the muddy roads, he sent word to Mr. Yate, who hurried off to the cemetery, but arrived just too late to read the service. The Fort Adjutant reported the circumstances to the Council, who, however, after enquiry entirely exonerated the clergy of the charge of neglect of duty which the Adjutant had brought against them.

By this time a Chaplain's salary had been increased to Rs. 1,200 a month. But there must have been very considerable additional allowances, for on the 1st of May 1781 Mr. Yate was able to put by under a Company's Bond no less than Rs. 15,000.

On the 14th of April 1782, in his 46th year, he died, and was buried in the Park Street South Cemetery. He died unmarried and intestate. His brother chaplain, William Johnson, as one of his near friends, administered his estate, the account current of which, closed on the 25th of February 1786, shows that it had realized up to that date about Rs. 70,000. It does not appear from the original papers now in the High Court who his heirs were. Rs. 218-1-3 was expended on his funeral and Rs. 266 on his monument. The latter is not now distinguishable, as the epitaph which existed in 1851 when the *Bengal Obituary* was published has since disappeared. This epitaph, certainly from the pen of his friend Johnson, ran as follows :—

" Sacred to the Memory of
the REV. THOMAS YATE,
many years' Chaplain to this Presidency.
who died on the 14th of April 1782.
His amiable and cheerful disposition
procured him the esteem and friendship
of the public in general,
and his many private virtues
will ever be remembered
by those of his more intimate
Acquaintance, who in his death
lamented the loss of an honest man."

It would appear that a further epitaph existed elsewhere, for *Asiaticus* (1803) has the following—

I transcribe from the records of mortality the eulogium on Mr. Yate and here subjoin it—

Died April the 14th 1782 the Reverend Mr. Thomas Yate, Chaplain to the Garrison of Fort William. If the most extensive benevolence and goodwill towards his fellow-creatures, added to a contented, easy and quiet disposition, could render a man happy in this world, Reader, thou hast the satisfaction of knowing that the deceased was completely so; and no doubt but his reward will follow him.

To this *Asiaticus* himself adds:—

‘May all his future successors be so bright an ornament to the Church!’

CHAPTER XII.

1770 to 1776.

DURING the period while Dr. Burn, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Yate were Company's chaplains in Calcutta, the local mission of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge reached the height of its success. On Advent Sunday, 1770, Mr. Kiernander solemnly opened for Divine Worship the completed Mission Church *Beth Tephillah*, a building which had been begun in May 1767, one M.B. de Mevell, a Dane, being its architect. It cost some Rs. 60,000—a sum largely provided out of the fortune of the Missionary's second wife. A burial ground for the special use of the Mission was opened (in what is now Park Street) in 1773.

In 1772 two clergymen in Roman Catholic orders associated themselves with Mr. Kiernander's organization, and at least one of these joined him in active work. Another priest formerly of the same obedience was then also on the Mission staff. A complete list of Mr. Kiernander's Roman Catholic clerical converts is here given. It is collected partly from the latter's published biographies, and partly from the original Parish Register of the Mission preserved at St. John's Church, Calcutta, and partly from the Mayor's Court Records.

1. *Bento de Silvestre* alias *de Souza*, who had been for forty years an Augustinian Friar, of which thirteen had been spent at Bandel. He abjured the Pope before Mr. Kiernander on the 7th February 1766, whereupon he was appointed a Catechist of the Mission at £20 a year, and is reputed to have been a very zealous preacher in Portuguese, and to have translated large portions of the Book of Common Prayer, including the Catechism, into Bengali.

At the sale at Bandel of the effects of a deceased friar, a Padre Frey Caetano da Madre de Deos, in 1768, a certain Padre Frey Bento de Silvestre was a principal purchaser, but it can hardly be believed that this was the then S. P. C. K. Catechist. On the 17th December 1770 he married one Ursula Gardin, who died on the 6th August 1777, and on the 6th February 1778, he took as his second wife Annie Pieters. The date of his death does not appear, but he was living on the 12th April 1783, when, signing himself as '*Bento D'Souza*,' he witnessed the will of his colleague, the Rev. M. J. Ramalhete. He is called in the S. P. C. K. reports '*the Rev. Mr. Bento*.'

2. *Manoel-José da Costa*, who after having long worked as a Missionary in Siam was received into the Church of England at

Madras. In June 1769, he joined the Calcutta Mission, and died on the 2nd March 1771 after a lingering illness.

3. *Francis-Joseph Hanson*, native of Vienna, formerly a Missionary Friar of the Carmelite Order. On the 1st January 1773, then being aged 32, he publicly renounced Romanism at a solemn service in the Mission Church. The Governor of Fort William, Mr. Cartier, the Rev. Dr. Burn and many other gentlemen were present on the occasion. He is reputed to have been a scholar and to have been acquainted with eight modern languages. There is no trace of his having actively worked for the mission: indeed, he obtained some secular employment under Government. On the 22nd March 1773, he married Margaretta Smith.

4. *Marcellino-Joseph Ramalheto*, a native of Lisbon, for twenty-one years a Franciscan Friar. He, too, publicly recanted Romanism at the Mission Church—this was on the 12th November 1772. On the 17th August of the following year he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Delong, and having served the Mission as a Catechist for over ten years, he died on the 13th or 14th May 1783. In his will dated April 12th, 1783, he says he had put his wife away from his company in November 1778 for ill-behaviour. He died almost penniless—if not in debt; nevertheless he leaves to his wife Arcot Rs. 5, and to Mr. Kiernander his slave girl Rebekah to serve the school children. He names as his executors Mr. Kiernander and another clergyman, the Rev. Mr. *John-William Girtach*, respecting whom nothing appears to be known, except that he was a colleague sent out to Mr. Kiernander by the S. P. C. K., who arrived in 1776 and died in 1792.

5. *Joseph de Monte de Sinai*, who had been most likely an Augustinian Friar of Bandel. On the 4th of August 1782 (the date is not quite certain), at the age of twenty-six, he quitted the Roman for the English Church, and on the 26th of the October following took as his wife Maria Dunstan.

In 1771 the Court appointed a colleague to Dr. Burn in the person of the *Revd. William Johnson*, of whom mention has already been frequently made. In the General Letter of April 10th, 1771, is the following:—

§ 78. We have appointed the Rev. Mr. William Johnson, to be one of your Chaplains with the allowances settled in our letter of the 11th November 1768

§ 79. We have lent him £100 to be repaid out of his growing salary agreeable to the tenor of the enclosed Bond.

On the 10th April 1770 occurs the following entry in the transactions of the Court of Directors:—

Ordered, that it be recommended to the next Court of Directors to consider of increasing the allowance of the Chaplains at the several presidencies in India.

No action on this resolution can be traced, and it is evident that the idea for the time dropped as Johnson was twelve months later covenanted under the old consolidated salary of Rs. 271 a month.

With the next five years, however, a Chaplain's monthly pay is found to have arisen to Rs. 800.

Of the year 1772, so far as concerns St. John's Chapel and its ministers, nothing has been ascertained. In the next year, 1773, a few references to parochial matters are found in the minutes of Council: among them on the 22nd of April a note that James Aickin, the parish clerk, had presented a petition that he might be appointed undertaker at the new cemetery as his predecessor in office had been. The matter was referred to the decision of the Chaplains and Church-wardens. Again, on the 13th December that the Chaplains Burn and Johnson had petitioned the Board to be allowed a share of the commission on the revenues enjoyed by other covenanted servants of the Company. The Board recommended the application to the Directors, but with what result is not apparent.

Of the next year but one event of ecclesiastical interest has been discovered on record; it is in the Parish Register—

1774, June 1, [married.] The Rev. William Johnson, one of the Chaplains of this Presidency, and Mrs. Frances Watts, Widow.

Upon this woman, remarkable for her longevity, for her influence and popularity in Calcutta society, and for her four weddings, a long biographical epitaph exists in her tomb—a Greek shrine—in St. John's churchyard. This epitaph contains an error in an important date, which, however, is corrected by the testimony of the recently recovered volume of the Parish Register [1713—1758], and the following outline of her career is thus obtained:—

She was the second daughter of Edward Crook, Esq., of Herefordshire, Governor of Fort St. David on the Coromandel Coast, and was born on April 10th, 1725. On the 3rd November 1744, not 1738 according to the epitaph (which thus makes her to have been then but 13 or 14), Frances Crook, in the 20th year of her age, married Perry-Purple Templer, Esq., nephew to Mr. Braddyll, then Governor of Fort

William. By him she had two children, Thomas and Frances, who died infants. On the 25th January 174 $\frac{7}{8}$ her husband died. In the same year, November 2nd, 1748, she married again. 'Her second husband was James Altham of Calcutta, Esq., who died of the small-pox a few days after the marriage.' He was buried on the 12th of November. 'She next intermarried' on the 24th November of the following year, 1749, 'with William Watts, Esq., then senior member of the Supreme Council of Bengal.' In 1756, when Calcutta was taken by the Nawab, Mr. Watts was chief at Kasimbazar; he and his wife and children (Amelia, Edward, and Sophia) were imprisoned at the latter city. They, however, were befriended by the Begum, Suraj-ud-Dowla's mother, and under her protection their lives were spared.

It is said that at this dreadful crisis the Begum took Mrs. Watts and her little ones into her zenana, where she was treated with the utmost kindness and respect. After the lapse of thirty-seven days, while the Nawab still continued in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, the Begum contrived to send her guest by river under escort to Chander-nagore, where the French Governor hospitably entertained her. The Begum next, at the urgent instance of her son's wife, induced him to release Mr. Watts, who thereupon rejoined his family. In 1760 they left Bengal for England, where Mr. Watts died. Of the three children, the epitaph written in 1812 thus gives account: '*Amelia* married the Right Honourable Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool, by whom she had issue one child, Robert Banks, now Earl of Liverpool, &c., &c., *Edward*, now of Hanslope Park, in the county of Bucks, Esq. *Sophia*, late the wife, and now the widow of George Poyntz Ricketts, Esq., late Governor of Barbadoes'—Mrs. Watts had one other child, William, who died in infancy.

Mrs. Watts returned alone to Bengal in about 1769 to administer her late husband's estate. On the 1st of June 1774 she "intermarried with the Reverend William Johnson, then principle [*sic*] chaplain of the Presidency of Fort William"—the epitaph here errs again. It is curious how the real senior Chaplain, Dr. James Burn, is always in the background. Her after history may be here anticipated and dismissed. Plainly, her life with her fourth husband, whom she had espoused in her 50th year, was inharmonious. On his retirement from India in 1788 she did not accompany him, but continued to reside in Calcutta. There she was popularly known as 'the old Begum' and for nearly another quarter of a century her hospitable mansion, her private

fortune being very ample, was one of the most popular rendezvous of the Calcutta fashionable world. Her manners, according to the compilers of the *Bengal Obituary*, "were cheerful, polished and highly pleasing. She abounded in anecdote; and possessing ease and affability of communication, her conversation was always interesting, without any tendency to fatigue the hearer. She had a strong understanding, to which she superadded much and accurate observation. Her views of life were correct, and the benevolence of her heart and the warmth of her affections continued unimpaired to the latest period of her life. Though prone to reflect and to discriminate, yet her judgment did not abridge, but served to guide and exalt her benevolence. As a Christian she was sound in her principles and exemplary in her practice." Her signature is found at St. John's to the subscription list of 1811 for the renovation of the Church—she gave Rs. 100. On the 2nd July 1811 she made her will.* In it she alludes to her husband William Johnson as then still living in England, but leaves him nothing.†

She died on the 3rd of February 1812, having nearly completed her 87th year. 'The oldest British resident in Bengal, universally beloved, respected and revered'—so concludes the epitaph.

The old burying ground around St. John's Church, then closed for nearly half a century, was re-opened in her honour, and she received a quasi-state funeral; the Governor-General attending in a coach and six with the members of his Council and escorted by the Body Guard.

But to return to the year 1774, and to the main narrative. The wedding of Johnson and Mrs. Watts, unless the manners of the time, rapidly advancing in all luxurious indulgence, required its solemnization at a private residence, and in the evening (as is the more likely since that the bride was a lady of wealth and fashion), would have been performed at St. John's Chapel, then more than ever inadequate to the accommodation of the English population. In October of that same year 1774, Philip Dormer Stanhope‡ writes of Calcutta:—

There is a noble play house but no church, the want of which is supplied by a specious apartment in the old Fort, adjoining to the room so well known by the name of the Black-Hole.§

In the Chapel the vestry met, and there other meetings for ecclesiastical purposes were held. The minutes of one important vestry meeting held therein on the 1st February of the following year 1775

* Supreme Court Eccl. Suits, No. 7336.

† Arms on the Seal. A fesse sa: betw : 3 martlets. Crest, 2 demi-serpents in saltire.

‡ *Asiaticus*.

§ *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus*, 1784.

are preserved in the transactions of Council. It was a meeting not of the 'Select' but of the 'General' Vestry, and its purpose was to decide whether or not to lease the entire 'Court House' (the upper storey of which afforded then the most popular assembly and ball rooms in the settlement) to Government for the use of the new Supreme Court.* The minutes are interesting as disclosing the then flourishing condition of the 'Church stock,' and are as follows :—

"Calcutta, February 1st, 1775.

At a Vestry held in St. John's Chapel.

Present : Richard Barwell, Esq., Member of the Supreme Council.

The Rev. Dr. Burn.

The Rev. Mr. Johnson.

William Bensely, Church-warden.

Matthew Gunning, Sidesman.

Messrs :

Charles Bentley,	}	Inhabitants.
Page Kabbell,		
Colonel Fortnam,		
Hercules Durham,		

Read a letter from the Supreme Council as follows :—

'To the Rev. Dr. Burn.

'Rev. Sir,—We pleased to acquaint the Gentlemen of the Vestry of St. John's that the Hon'ble the Governor General and Council propose to rent the entire house called the Court House on a lease for a certain number of years at a fixed annual rent and I am directed by them to apply in this manner to the Vestry for their answer to this proposal, specifying the terms on which they will agree to it. I am Rev. Sir, your most humble servant—

(Signed) J. STUART, Secretary, Council Chamber, 30th January 1775.'

'Referred to the Records in the Vestry—perused the proposals made for upper rooms and other additions to be made for the Town House in July 1762.'

These proposals will be found at page 128.

By other papers it further appears that at different times the Voluntary Subscriptions have amounted to 1,43,560 rupees. It appears from these that the Vestry either made or accepted the proposals of the Subscribers under the conditions specify'd as above in July 1762.

That is, that the improvements subscribed for should provide a public ball and assembly room, and that the whole should be a present to the charity stock.

* By its charter of 1774, March 26th, this Court was, beside its other powers, to be a Court of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction as the same was exercised in the Diocese of London. The *High Court* still continues this jurisdiction in respect of probato, and even occasionally issues Marriage Licenses. These latter are, however, inoperative, save perhaps at the Kirk, as the clergy of the Church of England, since the Bishop has appointed Surrogates for the issue of such dispensations, decline now to act upon them.

To John Stuart, Esq., Secretary to the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council.

I have it further in command from the Vestry of St. John's to enclose a copy of their proceedings of this day. I am Sir, your obedient Servant.

CHAS. WESTON,* *Clerk of the Vestry.*

Mr. Bensley Church-warden lays before the Vestry the following account by which it appears there is a Balance due to Mr. Fortnam of c. Rs. 6,462-0-6 :—

* Charles Weston resigned this appointment in 1783. He died 25th December 1809 in his 78th year. The interest on a lakh of rupees of his property is still administered by the Select Vestry for the relief of the poor. A fine oil painting of him and also a miniature is preserved at St. John's Church (photograph in *The Parish of Bengal*).

M

To answer this amount it appears that the following gentlemen have subscribed their names, viz. :—

Mr. Dacres Rs. 300, Mr. Laurel Rs. 300, Mr. Graham Rs. 300, Mr. Grueber Rs. 300, Mr. Bentley Rs. 300, Mr. Vansittart Rs. 100, Mr. Petrie Rs. 100 ; Rs. 1,700.

Ordered, the clerk to make out bills in the names of the several gentlemen and that the subscription be continued until the sum of Rs. 6,462 shall be completed, when the Church-warden is directed to discharge the above balance.

Ordered, that another vestry be held this day fortnight.

The then rent for the portion of the Court House occupied by Government, C. Rs. 4,160, had been fixed in April 1767, when on the petition* of the Chaplains, Parry and Blomer, and of the 'Church-wardens' (*i.e.*, Church-warden and Sidesman) Daniel Hoissard and Benjamin Laccam, Arcot Rs. 2,000 per annum were added to the existing rent of current Rs. 2,000, making together C. Rs. 4,160 'to enable them to extend their assistance to many indigent old inhabitants now in Calcutta who are really objects of charity.'

The rent continued at this rate until August 1776, the Government not having obtained the whole premises as it had proposed to do, when on the application of Mr. Church-warden H. Cottrell, it was again raised, this time by Rs. 100 a month 'to be paid by the Buxey monthly for the repairs of the Court House.' This increase had apparently retrospective effect from the 17th November 1773. It brought up the rent to current Rs. 6,180 per annum or current Rs. 515 *alias* sicca Rs. 392 a month. At the same time the interest on the Bonds then renewed belonging to the Charity stock was reduced from 8 to 5 per cent. The rent was finally raised on January 19th, 1778, to the sicca Rs. 800 a month, realized for the benefit of the Free School down to the present day and at the same time the entire premises appear to have been taken over by Government.

* The original exists. *Pub. Consultations, April 29th, 1767.*

CHAPTER XIII.

1776 to 1782.

THE year 1776 saw the first beginning of the movement which led, under the blessing of God, to the building of a parish church for Bengal worthy of the Presidency, the present St. John's. Strange to say it was not Dr. Burn, but his junior colleague, William Johnson, who took the lead in the project. Indeed, Dr. Burn appears to have been a man of a singularly retiring nature, and in the contemporary records of his time his very name can be but rarely traced. Johnson's first idea naturally was that Government itself might be induced to build a fitting Church. Why this had not been twenty years before is hard to explain. There can be no room for doubt but that some handsome item in the Restitution money paid by the Nawab Mir Jaffir on the recovery of Calcutta had been charged on account of the ruin of St. Anne's, though it cannot be traced; certainly the Rs. 2,000 spent by the Council on St. John's Chapel did not represent the Restitution fine of St. Anne's. In March 1776, Johnson addressed the following composition to the Governor-General and Council—the original exists* :—

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Entrusted with the important task of inculcating the great duties of religion and morality and ministering in Holy Offices to those inhabitants of Calcutta who profess Christianity as established in the Church of England, I think it my duty humbly to represent to you an inconvenience generally felt and complained of,—the want of a proper place for the celebration of Divine Worship and for the exercise of the Ministerial Function.

The Hon'ble East India Company desirous, no doubt, to show at once their compliance with the conditions annexed to their incorporation by that wise and politic prince, King William, and their attention to what ought never to be forgotten in the midst of worldly pursuits,—the temporal and eternal welfare of men, had caused a decent and convenient Church to be erected, of capacity proportioned to the number at the time of English Protestant settlers, and of elegance adequate to the wealth and importance of the Factory. The disaster by which it was destroyed and the accidents which have at different times delayed its re-edification are sufficiently known to you Gentlemen and to all who have been concerned in the affairs of the Honourable Company. But I flatter myself that the time is now come when all impediments are removed and all delays shall have an end. Neither want of money nor fear of invasion will now be urged

* Pub. Consultations, April 1st, 1776.

as objection to such an undertaking, and the Government not only of this Factory, but of three extensive and populous provinces is now committed to a Governor-General and Council who have all been selected by the British Legislature for their experience and wisdom and thorough acquaintance with the principles of sound policy and Civil Government.

It cannot be requisite on this occasion to expatiate largely to Christians and Members of the Church of England of the necessity of shewing forth His praise and joining publicly in His worship, Whom it is our greatest glory to adore and obey; and it is equally needless to urge particularly to gentlemen of knowledge and discernment the reasons which temporal prudence will suggest for paying a more than ordinary regard to the external rites and solemn ceremonies of religion in the sight of the nations of Bengal, who having been subject for ages to the dominion of despotic princes, withheld from oppression by no ties but those of religion, will from beholding our pure worship of the One Almighty God, inculcating implicit reliance on His Justice, Mercy and Dispensations, be taught to believe in His Providence and to place the firmest confidence in the Government of the English nation, that in His strength has been introduced and fixed over such extensive dominions of the Earth.

Without attempting to enlarge on these subjects I take the liberty to entreat and as a Minister of the Gospel to exhort your honourable Board to pay that attention to them which in your opinions they shall seem really to deserve and at the same time to take into consideration the impropriety and insufficiency of the place now appropriated to the use of Divine Service.

Whoever has seen the Room must know that it is incapable of holding a twentieth part of the Protestant Inhabitants of Calcutta and whoever has been a constant attendant on religious worship there must also have frequently been a witness of the noisy interruptions to which Divine Service is liable both from people within the Fort and from the concourse by the river side of men employed in their several mechanical trades or mercantile affairs. These inconveniences are such as may with reason be believed to keep many well disposed Christians from paying due attendance on Divine Service, since they have sometimes caused those who did attend to retire from their unfinished devotions, for want of room and opportunity to perform them in a decent and becoming manner.

I therefore cannot but deem it incumbent on me to express to your honourable Board my ardent wish that you will be pleased to cause a proper edifice to be erected for the purpose of Christian Worship, an undertaking which my function will justify me in presuming to recommend as one that will not only be of great benefit to religion, but will also reflect the truest honour on yourselves, on the Honourable Company, and on the English Nation.

I am, Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Calcutta, March the 22nd, 1776.

It is very evident from this letter that the writer had not the least idea that St. Anne's had been built in 1709 by public subscription.

Its ruins were at that moment probably still traceable, for its site was lying vacant. All memory of its consecration had disappeared, and its site, together with all the land intervening between it and the Court House, was nine months after this letter of Mr. Johnson's actually treated as *coomar* or waste land, and so the absolute property of the company: for on November 18th, 1776, the whole was granted by a pottah to Mr. Thomas Lyons for building what is now known as Writers' Buildings upon. Had he been aware of the facts of the case, he certainly would have cast the former part of his appeal in a different shape. He would have said:—'The company's servants built the Church and Government undertook to protect its site as sacred and separate from profane uses for ever. One Nawab destroyed it, but his successor lavishly re-imbursed the settlement for all such losses and devastations. The Government must still hold the restitution money reckoned against the ruination of St. Anne's. Let Government therefore replace the building, and on the old site, which is inalienable to profane uses.'

Johnson's letter was favourably received by the Council. The original note made upon it when circulated to the Board before its meeting runs as follows:—

I approve of the substance of Mr. Johnson's request, but do not conceive that this Board have any power to comply with it, but wish that it may be referred to the Hon'ble Court of Directors by this packet, W. H., J. C., P. F., G. M., R. B.

The initials are those of the whole council—Warren Hastings, Lieut.-General John Clavering, Philip Francis, the Hon. George Monson, and Richard Barwell.

The application met with no response from the court, and the question for the building of a fitting Parish Church for Bengal slept seven years more.

An indication of the status of the Chaplains on the Company's lists is found in the Proceedings of October 28th of this year, 1776, when James Burn and William Johnson apply for 'a share in the remittance,' in proportion to a member of the Board of Trade.

Having always understood the Chaplains of this presidency were considered in the List of Civil Servants with members of the late Council (now the Board of Commerce).

The request was granted, and they were thus permitted to send home up to £1,000 a year each through the Company's bills. A clergyman's fees must have at that time been rich and abundant, for the lucrative salt, betel and tobacco monopoly had been long suppressed

and the salary of a Chaplain, though raised that year from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,200 a month, would surely not have permitted him to save—considering the then rapidly advancing cost of living in Calcutta—half that total sum in the course of a year. An interesting letter by the Chaplains on the subject of housekeeping expenses a few years later will be given in its proper place. As to the fees, it is known that at Baptism five gold mohurs was frequently presented to the clergyman and as much as twenty sometimes (as Miss Goldborne will presently testify) at a wedding.

The Church register shows on the 10th July 1777 that Johnson solemnized the marriage between “Mr. Francis Grand, writer in the Hon’ble Company’s Service, and Miss Varlé of Chandernagore.” This marriage was performed at Hooghly at a private residence, the couple having previously been wedded at the Roman Catholic Church at Chandernagore. In the case of mixed marriages such double wedding was then apparently necessary in law. The bride became afterwards celebrated as the Princess de Talleyrand.* On the 8th of August following Johnson married, again of course at a private mansion, perhaps at Government House, ‘The Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General in India’ and ‘Miss Anna-Maria-Appolonia Chapusettin.’†

The year 1777 saw a rapid advance in the decay of the natural powers of Kiernander which led to his entrusting his worldly affairs to others and so to his bankruptcy. An original letter‡ exists written by the Church-warden, Mr. H. Cottrell, to Government, which illustrates the past relation between the charity children and the S. P. C. K. Mission and the changes therein rendered necessary in the future by the Senior Missionary’s infirmities.

The letter is dated 11th December 1777, and encloses an extract from the Vestry minutes beginning—

Mr. Johnson having acquainted the Vestry that the want of sight and other infirmities of Mr. Kiernander in all probability would render him incapable of future attendance [that is at the Charity School which he had managed for the Vestry in which were the 20 boys maintained by the Fund] . . . observed that Mr. Kiernander had for many years during his health conducted and taken care of the school purely on motives of charity and benevolence, having never received any gratuity for his trouble . . . that Mr. Kiernander had now on account of his infirmities desired to resign the management of the School into the hands of Rev. Mr. Doomar, a gentleman of learning and abilities,

* See an interesting memoir in ‘Busteed’s Echoes of Old Calcutta.’

† A photograph of this page of the Register is given in *The Parish of Bengal*.

‡ See ‘Consultations,’ January 19th, 1778.

. . . . *Resolved* that Mr. D. take charge of the School and that an allowance of 100 Arcot Rupees per month be given him as soon as the Fund may be able to support it.

Hence that the Fund may do this and defray pensions to widows and orphans and meet other charitable purposes, the letter begs that the rent of the Court-House be raised from 392 Sicca Rupees to 800 Sicca Rupees a month. Accompanying the letter is an account of the state of the charity fund at the time as follows :—

Instruction money in the Company's hands	...	...	2,030
Rent of the Court House	...	...	4,160
C. Rs. 515 + per mensem			6,190
<i>Expenses</i> Mrs. Cameron's allowance p.m.	...	C. Rs.	75 9 7
Mrs. Parkinson's children	...	...	64 12 9
Mrs. Horne's granddaughter	...	...	6 7 8
			146 14 0
Boarding and Schooling 20 children	...	...	462 3 10
Clothing A. Rs.	333 6 3		
	26 10 9		
£60 1 0 per mensem			30 0 0
Monthly Expenses	...	...	639 1 10

The new master of the Charity School was the Rev. John-Christman Diemer, LL.D., who had arrived in 1775 as one of the S. P. C. K. Missionaries. On the 3rd July of that year he married* Mary, daughter of Charles Weston, the Parish Clerk, and Constantia, his Roman Catholic second wife [epitaph at Bandel]. By her he had one child "Fear-God-Christman," who died at the age of eight days on 30th September 1778. In 1784 he returned to Europe, having at least the previous year resigned the mastership to one William Aldwell (unless the latter acted under him). He is found again in Calcutta, however, a few years later as first Head Master of the new 'Free School.' He died on the 21st February 1792, aged 44.

In the year 1779, the Rev. Thomas Yate effected his escape from his French imprisonment, and returned to the spiritual charge of the Fort William Garrison : a narrative in detail of these matters will be found in the previous Chapter.

The general letter of the Court to the Council dated May 12th, 1780, contains a complaint with regard to the irregular transmission of copies of the Church Register. In 1769 the duty of seeing to their regular return to the Council was committed to Mr. Yate, but he was

* Minatures on ivory of Charles and Constantia Weston are preserved at St. John's.

deported home, and under his successors the matter fell into neglect the letter says :—

§ 23. As great inconveniences have arisen from the want of Registers of Christenings, Marriages, and Burials at your Presidency ever since the year 1776, we therefore direct that your Secretary do call upon our Chaplain to send us in duplicate at least compleat Registers from that time and you are to require them in future to transmit by every ship a regular list properly attested to as late a period as possible.

§ 24. And having appointed Chaplains to the 1st and 2nd Brigades of our forces we expect that they also transmit to us by the same conveyance Registers of such Marriages, Christenings and Burials as shall come within their knowledge.

In obedience to the former paragraph Mr. Johnson, on the 7th May 1781, sent in to the Council copies of the Calcutta Register of Christenings, Marriages and Burials from 1st January 1777 to April 30th, 1781, and of the Outstation Register from December 1769 to February, 21st, 1781.

The latter paragraph shows that the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment had been increased by the appointment of the Rev. Welstrow Hulse to the chaplaincy of the first Brigade, and of the Rev. Thomas Blanshard to that of the second. The former arrived probably with Sir Eyre Coote in 1778,* and the latter towards the end of 1780.†

Of the former the Council write to the Court on the 14th January 1780 :—

§ 91. The Rev. Mr. Hulse whom you appointed to the Chaplaincy of the 1st Brigade resigned service [August 16th, 1779], with intention to return to Europe and embarked on board the *Stafford*. Having been shipwrecked in that vessel [on a reef at entrance to the Hooghly] and being obliged to return to Calcutta the Commander-in-Chief [Lieut.-General Sir Eyre Coote K. B.] proposed to us his readmission into the service with an appointment more general than that which he had resigned. We accordingly agreed to this recommendation [on the 29th September] and Mr. Hulse is now Chaplain to the army under orders to officiate with that part of it where the Commander-in-Chief may happen to be. To this station we have annexed the same allowances as those granted to the Chaplains at the presidency and Captain's pay and batta for travelling charges.

This new development of the Ecclesiastical Establishment—the appointment of a Chaplain-General of the army—had not a long continuance. It ceased with the first incumbent's retirement from India in 1784 on the death of the Commander-in-Chief (when he returned home as the escort of the widowed Lady Coote), though the council nominated Mr. Goddard as his successor.

* Proceedings, August 16th, 1779. | † Genl. Letter, Court to Bengal, 1780, Feb. 3rd, § 20.

Welstrow Hulse was a son of Sir Edward Hulse of 'St. George's, London,' Baronet. He matriculated at University College, Oxford, on the 26th March 1768 at the age of 18. He graduated B.A. in 1771 and M.A. in 1774. He died in England in April 1787.

With *Thomas Blanshard* we shall be concerned later.

On the 28th December 1780, on his arrival in India the Rev. *John Stanley* was appointed Chaplain to the third Brigade. His arrival raised the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Bengal to six persons—Burn, Johnson, Yate, Hulse, Blanshard, and Stanley.

John Stanley was a son of Edward Stanley, of Westminster, gentleman. He matriculated at Hertford College, Oxford, in 1765, June 14th. He appears to have taken no degree. In 1771 he became Rector of Wareham, Kent.* He died at Madras in 1783.

A graphic idea of such superficial features of the public observances of religion in Calcutta as would attract the notice of a visitor who mingled in the most luxurious and frivolous circles of society of the time, is to be gathered from the Letters of '*Sophia Goldborne*'—a collection published in London in 1789, under the title of *Hartly House, Calcutta*.† The personal names and perhaps some incidents mentioned in this collection are fictitious; nevertheless it certainly dates from Calcutta between the period at which we have now arrived and 1786, and may be trusted as a fair reflexion of the manners of the wealthy English at that time. It discloses a state of society vastly more luxurious than that which Mrs. Kindersley saw sixteen years earlier. It is full, however, of mistakes in detail characteristic of the trivial, gossiping style affected by the writer. The following are extracts. The first relates to St. John's Chapel in the Old Fort :—

I have been at church, my dear girl, in my new palanquin, (the mode of genteel conveyance) where *all* ladies are approached, by sanction of ancient custom, by *all* gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hand to conduct them to their seat; accordingly, those gentlemen who wish to change their condition, (which, between ourselves, are chiefly old fellows, for the young ones either chuse country-born ladies for wealth, or, having left their hearts behind them, enrich themselves, in order to be united to their favourite dulcineas in their native land) on hearing of a ship's arrival, make a point of repairing to this holy dome, and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers; who, if this stolen view happens to captivate, often without undergoing the ceremony of a formal introduction, receive matrimonial overtures, and, becoming brides in the utmost possible splendor, have their rank instantaneously established, and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence

* Hasted's History of Kent, vol. ii, p. 484.

† A Dr. B. Hartley was a notable figure in Calcutta at this time. See page 177.

of their husbands entitles them. But not so your friend ; for, having accompanied my father to India, no overtures of that nature will be attempted, previous to an acquaintance with him, or at least under his encouraging auspices, nor did any gentleman break in upon the circle of my surrounding intimates, on this first public exhibition of my person, though every male creature in Calcutta, entitled to that privilege, bid Mr. and Mrs. Hartly expect an early visit from them.

On my mentioning the church, you will perhaps fancy I ought to recount to you its magnificence and style of architecture ; but the edifice dignified at present with that appellation does not deserve notice. It is situated at the Old Fort, and consists solely of a ground-floor,* with an arrangement of plain pews ; nor is the Governor himself much better accommodated than the rest ; and of course the Padra, as the clergyman is called, has little to boast of : the windows are however verandas which are pleasing to me in their appearance, independent of the blessing of air enjoyed through them

At Calcutta Sunday is the only day of public devotion, and that only in the morning ; though the Padra's salary is liberal and his perquisites immense.

In another place she speaks of weddings :—

Weddings here, Arabella, are very joyous things to all parties ; especially, I should suppose, to the padra or clergyman, who frequently receives twenty gold mohrs for his trouble of performing the ceremony. The bride and bridegroom's friends assemble, all elegantly dressed, at one or other of the young couple's nearest relatives, and are most sumptuously entertained ; and the congratulatory visits on the occasion put the whole town in motion. It is a festival I have not, however, the smallest desire to treat my friends with ; for even was my choice fixed, and every obstacle obviated, I should have unconquerable objections to making so public an exhibition of myself on so solemn a change of condition—an idea I cannot say I have in common with my acquaintance ; for I have reason to believe, I am the only person in Calcutta, not even my well beloved Mrs. Hartly excepted, that has the same idea in this instance—which is entirely the effect of custom.

And again in another connexion—

You are liable, at Calcutta, to be plundered of your consent any evening of your life ; and, without time to collect yourself, much less to retract—by the Padra's being one of the company, may be induced to give him a claim to twenty gold mohrs, before he takes his leave ; and so my good Arabella, being married in haste, be left to repent at leisure.

The chapel had one bell, possibly the one still existing in the steeple of St. John's Church which bears the date 1777. This bell is now cracked and useless—

His Majesty's Coronation would have been ushered in with ringing of bells (the constant herald of joy in England) but for one little impediment, viz.,

* Raised however at some slight elevation, for there is an allusion to "the stairs leading to the Church," in the records of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Freemasons in Bengal under date of 27th December 1774. See Andrew D'Cruz's *History of Freemasons in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1866.

Arabella, that there is but one Church-bell at present in all Calcutta, and that a deep melancholy-toned one, for the sole purpose of telling the public some one of their fellow-individuals is no more. All funeral processions are however concealed as much as possible from the sight of the ladies that the vivacity of their tempers may not be wounded.

This leads the writer to describe the funerals of the period—

Funerals are indeed solemn and affecting things at Calcutta, no hearses being here introduced, or hired mourners employed: for, as it often happens in the gay circles, that a friend is dined with one day and the next in eternity—the feelings are interested, the sensations awful, and the mental question, for the period of interment at least which will be to-morrow's victim? The departed one, of whatever rank, is carried on men's shoulders (like your walking funerals in England) and a procession of gentlemen equally numerous and respectable from the extent of genteel connexions, following—the well-situated and the worthy being universally esteemed and caressed whilst living, and lamented when dead. The Padra, however has his ample profits; who performs this last pious act with the greatest propriety: but such is the elasticity of European minds, that the ensuing day, the tavern is again visited by those very gentlemen, who know, and acknowledge it to have been the bane of their lost friend.

In another letter she describes the cemeteries, those now known as of Park Street North and South—

The house of prayer at Calcutta, is not the house of sepulchre. Burying-grounds are provided some miles from the town which I am given to understand, are well worth the visit of a stranger. I will only add that though this measure may have arisen from the fervid heat of this climate (where death is busy) which gives the idea of rapid putridity, yet surely it is disgracing the temple of the Divinity, (admitting even that in England no bad consequence results from such deposits) to make it a charnel-house.

And later—

Alas! Arabella, the Bengal burying-grounds (for there are two of them though they greatly resemble that Churchyard [of St. Pancras, London] in monumental erections, bear a melancholy testimony to the truth of my observations on the short date of existence in this climate.

Born just to bloom and fade, is the chief intelligence you receive from the abundant memorials of dissolved attachments and lamented relatives.

Obelisks, pagodas, &c., are erected at great expence; and the whole spot is surrounded by as well-turned a walk as those you traverse in Kensington Gardens, ornamented with a double row of aromatic trees, which afford a solemn and beautiful shade: in a word not old Windsor Churchyard with all its cypress and yews, is in the smallest degree comparable to them: and I quitted them with unspeakable reluctance.

There is no difference between these two grounds, but in the expence of the monuments, which denote that persons of large fortune are there interred, and *vice versa*: whence, in order to preserve this difference in the appearance, the

first ranks pay five hundred rupees, the second three hundred for opening the ground; and they are disjoined merely by a broad road.

The inflated and flippant style at that time affected in fashionable literature, and which gives so repulsive a tone to Miss Goldborne's allusions to sacred matters, found its grossest exponent in Calcutta in the year 1781 in William Hickey, editor of 'Hickey's Gazette.*' It is creditable to Calcutta society of the day that this scandalous journal was extinguished after but two or three years of publication. In one of the numbers for June of 1781 occurs a mock advertisement of a play entitled 'Tyranny in full bloom or the Devil to pay,' in which 'the Reverend Mr. Tally Ho' was to sustain the character of 'Judas Iscariot.' It is probable that Mr. Johnson occasionally, after the manner of the time, equipped himself in pink and followed the hounds at Dum-Dum. Who shall blame him? Yet it gave excuse to malicious sarcasms.

On August 6th of this year the present Greek church of 'the Transfiguration of our Blessed Redeemer on mount Tabor' was consecrated. It is not at all unlikely, since oriental clergy attended at the consecration of St. John's six years later, that the presidency chaplains were invited to assist at the solemnity.

Of 1782 a few events may here be briefly noted.

On April 3rd the Maharaja Nobkissen sold (whether nominally or actually) to the Hon'ble Mr. Warren Hastings the piece of ground adjoining the old burying ground, called "the old Powder Magazine Yard," for Sicca Rs. 19,000.†

The Company had sold the Gunpowder Magazine yard by public auction on Monday, January 17th, 1774. The original notice of the sale thus describes it :—

The Magazine yard.—Situated between the street leading from the Government House and the old burying ground, the range of godowns belonging to Major Fortrom on the south side, and the garden of the head-Surgeon's house and a house occupied by Captain Hog on the north. Is a plot of ground nearly a square of an hundred yards, two sides of which are covered with strong sheds in bad repair, and near the centre is a circular building of pucea 60 feet diameter, which has formerly been used as a magazine. There is also in the plot a tank‡ about one hundred feet square, and contains about six beegahs and four cottahs of ground.§

* Filo in British Museum and another in the Calcutta Public Library. See also a chapter in Buxted's *Echoes of Old Calcutta*.

† Vestry Minutes of 1810, p. 66.

‡ The new Parsonage House occupies the site of this tank.

§ Copy in Midnapore Collector's Records in a letter from Secretary, Board of Inspection, to the Resident at Midnapore, dated 9th December 1773.

On May 9th the balance to the credit of the Select Vestry on 'Charity Stock' Account with the Company's treasury was found to be Rs. 57,600, bearing a running interest by order of the Court of Directors.

In this year, too, Charles Weston resigned the clerkship to the Select Vestry, and William Aldwell, the Charity boys' school-master, succeeded him in this office, and also in that which seems to have been, as now, held along with it—of Parish Clerk: and the Military Orphan Institution, still existing at Kidderpore House, but nearly extinct, was founded by the energy of Colonel William Kirkpatrick.

The year 1783 saw the beginning of the scheme which resulted in the building of the present Parish Church—an account of which will be found in the next chapter. Of other matters these are noticeable.

March 3rd, the Rev. Arthur-Ackland Barbor reported his arrival as a chaplain of the establishment and was commissioned to the 4th(?) Brigade.

April 14th, Mr. Church-warden William Larkins, being ill and about to proceed to Bombay, made over charge to his successor, Mr. Henry Vansittart, the Bonds belonging to the Charity School and one or two boxes of books. These boxes contained the whole records of the Select Vestry, doubtless since 1757, with the exception of the Parish Registers since 1759, and alas! despite a careful search made a few years afterwards, were never heard of again. The balance in hand made over to the new Church-warden at this date was S. Rs. 1,744-5-2.*

Two allusions to the Brigade Chaplains are found in 1783 in the Council Records to the effect that on the 1st December the Rev. Thomas Blanshard (2nd Brigade) desired to pay into the Treasury on account of his brother Captain John-Atkinson Blanshard, who was Commauder of the C. S. *York*, C. Rs. 46,828-9-6, but was not permitted to do so as that ship had not visited the Port of Calcutta. And on December 18th that the Rev. Donald McKinnon (1st Brigade?) applied for a passport until the 1st of March following for a journey into 'the upper countries' He proposed visiting Delhi, where he was desirous of making a catalogue of 'Indostan Manuscripts,' taking with him for the purpose a Moonshi and a Brahmin Pundit, and he begged that in the passport, which was granted according to his wishes, he might be entitled *Padre* or *Cazi*. The passport was granted.

* Vestry Minutes of 1787, p. 25.

CHAPTER XIV.

1783 to 1787.

MR. JOHNSON'S attempt, made in 1776, to induce the Company to build, at its own expense, a worthy temple of public worship for the Calcutta Settlement, wholly failed. He did not, however, abandon the idea, but determined to attempt its accomplishment by means of a public subscription.* His address to the Provincial Grand Lodge of Freemasons in Bengal, of which he was chaplain—a document to be given later—shows that in promoting this scheme he encountered the most persistent and discouraging opposition. It was an impossible thing to do, some said, while others did not scruple to impute to the chaplain base *arrière pensées* of personal profit. The name of Dr. James Burn, then senior chaplain, is most strangely absent from all accounts of the proceedings in connection with the church-building scheme.

Dr. Burn, however, who left Bengal by one of the last ships before the monsoon of 1784,† was desirous of providing a Parsonage-house for the parish, and promised the Church Building Committee to invite old Indians at home to subscribe towards the cost.‡ Nothing, however, came of the project. Parsonage schemes were from time to time promoted during the succeeding century, and as these pages go to press have at length received accomplishment, in the completion of a residence for the Senior Chaplain on the site of the old Magazine Yard Tank.

By 1783, Mr. Johnson succeeded in obtaining the support of the Governor-General and of a large number of the more influential officials resident in Calcutta; and after a substantial sum had already been promised by the general public towards the new church, a general meeting of 'the inhabitants of Calcutta' was called for the 18th of December. The minutes of this meeting, which was held in St. John's Chapel, form the opening of the existing series of the transactions of the 'Church Committee' and of the General and Select Vestries. Mr. Johnson was able to announce, on the occasion, that no less than Rs. 35,950 had been already promised; and a Building

* Photographs of the Subscription List and of a letter from Sir William Jones declining to subscribe are given in *The Parish of Bengal*.

† He sailed by C. S. *Earl of Oxford* on March 16th, and is said to have died in 1793 *et. 63*.

‡ Letter from John Petrie to Secretary, Building Committee, 9th March 1784.

Committee was at once appointed by the meeting to receive further contributions and to undertake the building of the church. The names of this original committee are the following :—

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

JOHN MACPHERSON, Esq. (a).

JOHN STABLES, Esq. (b).

THE REV. MR. JOHNSON.

THE REV. MR. BLANSHARD.

COLONEL SAMUEL HAMPTON (c).

CHARLES CROFTS, Esq. (d).

CLAUD ALEXANDER, Esq.

HENRY VANSITTART, Esq.

RICHARD JOHNSON, Esq.

JOHN PETRIE, Esq.

A. WILLIAMS, Esq.

GUTHBERT THORNHILL, Esq.

CHARLES SHORT, Esq.

EDWARD HAY, Esq.

MAJOR T. T. METCALFE. (e).

Four days later the Governor-General informed the Committee that he had received from the 'Maharaja Nobkissen' (Nobo-Krishna Dey) a formal gift of the piece of ground adjoining the old burying ground on the East, and known as the old Powder Magazine Yard, for the use of the church. This piece of ground is formally described as lying in Mouzah Dhoe, Calcutta, and as consisting of six biggahs ten biswaes. Though Mr. Warren Hastings called this conveyance a gift, it was, at least nominally, a purchase for 10,000 sicca rupees. The deed no longer exists, but it is described in the Vestry Records (f) as having been dated April 3rd of the previous year, 1782. The formal conveyance of the ground by Mr. Hastings to the Building Committee was executed on the 1st February 1785.

On the 8th January 1789 appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* a letter of thanks from the gentlemen of the Church Committee to Maharaja

(a) Memb., Council, October 1st, 1781, Governor-General, February 8th, 1785, to September 17th, 1786. Resigned January 17th, 1787.

(b) Memb., Council, November 11th, 1782. Resigned January 19th, 1787.

(c) Died May 7th, 1786, at Berhampore.

(d) None of the remaining members were in Civil Service.

(e) "Struck off," 1793.

(f) V. R.—D. 9. 1810, p. 66.

Nobokissen Bahadur of Calcutta for his act of liberality, quite unusual in a native in those days :—

Sir,—The Committee of gentlemen appointed by the subscribers for erecting a church to carry into effect the purposes of their subscription, have received from the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council a copy of a *durkhast* in which you give and make over to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esquire, Governor-General, in order that a church may be erected thereon, six bighas and ten biswas of land purchased by you for your own use in Calcutta. This gift is a most liberal instance of your generosity, and has afforded to the English settlement in general a most seasonable aid towards giving effect to their wishes for building a place of public worship ; and I am desired, sir, to render you the thanks of the Committee for it. I am also to acquaint you that the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council entertain the same sense of your liberality, and have particularly marked it in a letter which they have lately written to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

(Signed by the Secretary to the Committee.)

Sir John Shore wrote of the church building scheme at the time—

A Pagan gave the ground ; all characters subscribed ; lotteries, confiscations, donations received contrary to law, were employed in completing it. The Company contributed but little : no great proof that they think the morals of their servants connected with their religion.

Mr. Warren Hastings a week before he resigned his Government conveyed the Old Magazine yard which he had, in form, purchased from the Maharaja to some of the members of the original Building Committee in trust for the purpose of building a church. In the deed he provided for a perpetual succession of Trustees, who should never be allowed to fall below five in number ; the remaining four to be added by coöption. These Trustees were to hold the land and also the church to be erected thereon. The latter provision is curious, because at the time the Trust deed was executed, February 1st, 1785, the foundations of the church, excepting perhaps those of the eastern portico, had been laid, not within the magazine yard, but within the burying ground. Probably the deed was drawn up while the original project was as yet unchanged. There is no evidence that the Trustees besides assenting to the consecration, as they must have done, ever did any official act, and the select vestry of six members (five of whom between 1784 and 1787 were among the original Trustees) succeeded informally but permanently into their place and so late as 1835 claimed to hold the church in Trust. The Vestry in 1818 and 1819 had a long correspondence with Government on this subject. The original Trust deed is lost, but a copy of the main part of it exists in the Bengal Government General Department Records of September 1835. After

1835 with the reconstitution of the Vestry the Government assumed the ownership.

In February 1784, Mr. Hastings wrote to his wife who had then sailed for Home—

“ In the enumeration of articles of news I must not forget to inform you, my good Marian that the Church scheme which you had so much at heart goes on most prosperously, and I expect the foundation to be laid in less than two months. The body will be a square of 70 feet, and will be decorated with a handsome steeple.”

After the gift of the old Magazine Yard the undertaking proceeded with great rapidity, --within a month, rejecting a proposition to build the church after the pattern of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, a design by Lieutenant James Agg was approved, and the contract for erecting the building as well as for supplying the materials was given to him ; at the same time the Court of the Company in London was written to to send out a suitable church organ, various fittings, and service books, and *a set of Communion Vessels in solid gold.**

Up to the 2nd of January 1787 no reply had been received to this comprehensive indent, and it was then repeated in a modified form. The Court, however, did not disregard the application as the following extracts from its minutes will show.

Resolved that the sum of £1,200 be given by the Company towards the provision of Communion Plate, an organ, a clock, bells and velvet for the Pulpit, Desk and Communion Table, for the Church proposed to be built by Public contribution in the Town of Calcutta. (*Court Minutes, 22nd March 1785.*)

Resolved that the sum of £1,200 which the Court resolved on the 22nd March 1785, should be given by the Company towards the provision of Communion Plate, an organ, a clock, and velvet for the Pulpit, Desk, and Communion Table for the Church proposed to be built by public contribution in the Town of Calcutta be laid out under the inspection of William Bensley and Lionel Darcil, Esqs., (*Court Minutes : 9th June 1786.*)

On a motion, Ordered that the Company's duty on the Communion Plate for the Church in Bengal be remitted. (*Court Minutes—7th February 1787.*)

According to the fashion of the time, the first idea of the Building Committee with a view of raising funds was a scheme for a lottery, and the first number of ‘the *Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser* published by authority,’ that for the 11th March, 1784, contains full details of the enterprise. A Mr. Bartholomew Hartley, a Company's

* Building Committee Proceedings, p. 95.

surgeon—not a member of the Committee—lent his name as the leading promoter.* There were to be 3,000 tickets at ten gold mohurs or 160 sicca rupees each, of which 335 were to indicate prizes, the largest of which was fixed at 100,000, and the smallest at 500 sicca rupees. In addition to these prizes the holder of the first ticket drawn from the wheel was to receive sicca Rs. 10,000, and the holder of the last double that amount. The whole of the proceeds of the sale of tickets, namely, Sicca Rs. 4,80,000, was to be assigned away in prizes. The profit of the Building Committee being a charge of five per cent upon each prize, a further five per cent. being charged for expenses. A special Lottery Commission of nine gentlemen was appointed to carry the scheme into execution.

For the next five months the lottery was the *furor* of the Settlement. Not a number of the *Gazette* was issued without a column or more devoted to its prospects. Speculators, of course, invested in the tickets and retailed fractional chances. On Friday, August 6th, 1784, the drawing commenced with great ceremony at the Old Court House. The wheels, it would seem, were turned by boys of the Charity School. Each of these boys (judging from the frequent allusions in the vestry minutes of the next few years to ‘Lottery boys’ with a small bonus reckoned to each name) appears to have been rewarded for his service by some small interest in the adventure, his profits being made over to him by the vestry on leaving school. The scene of the drawing must have been one of the utmost gaiety and excitement. The great Assembly Room was crowded with all the fashion of Calcutta, a band of music playing between whiles. The first ticket drawn out of the wheel—most likely by a charity infant—was number 1359, which turned out a blank; nevertheless it entitled its owner to 10,000 rupees. After two or three hundred numbers had been drawn the proceedings ceased for the day, and the market price of the remaining tickets went up from ten to thirteen gold mohurs. The drawings continued ten days, the value of the surviving chances rising day by day,—after the second to fifteen, after the third to twenty, after the fourth to twenty-five and thirty sicca rupees and so on, evidently the chief prizes continuing undrawn, the last drawn ticket on the last day representing the advertised 20,000 sicca rupees. The *Gazette* of the 19th August contains some racy satirical verses upon the whole

* Married at Calcutta, 1789, October 4th, Bartholomew Hartley, Surgeon in H. C. service, and Elizabeth Lane, Spinster, both of Calcutta.

proceedings and there are some more spirited ones still in the issue of the next week. These are the following :—

TO A FRIEND.

Dear Jack, the Lott'ry being done,
And all the blanks and prizes gone.
For your amusement I'll describe,
Well as I can, th' advent'rous tribe.
Had you been here, you'd seen such faces,
Such frowns, such smiles, such airs and graces !
The happy few, with bright'ned eyes,
Enjoy'd and triumph'd, in their prize.
While some, with visage, wond'rous lank,
Sunk at the dreadful sound of——Blank.
These, told the joyful tale about,
Those, damn'd their luck, and waddl'd out,
Each with his numbers in his fist,
Groan'd as he marked them off the list.
Yet still, in expectation's rack,
Hop'd he should gain, the glorious Lack.
Till empty wheels, the latter day
Puff'd all his golden hopes away.

Here might you see in brilliant rows
Beauties balloon'd* and powder'd beaus.
Such anxious fidgets.—“ How d'ye feel,
“ Lord sir, my ticket's in the wheel.
“ I hope dear ma'am 'twill be a prize,
“ I hope so too—dear ma'am replies.”

O, but dear Jack, I'll tell you partly
Of Breakfast given by Doctor H——y.
For I cou'd only go to one,
And just dropped in as that was done,
A concert too and then a dance,
This H——y sure was bred in France ;
For all was manag'd with such grace,
That satisfaction mark'd each face.

The length'ned table filled the room,
And joy revived the ancient dome ;
Here art and nature spread their hoard,
And joined to crown the plenteous board.

* Perhaps the following note in *Gazette* of July 15th, 1784, explains this expression :—

“ The grand exhibition of the ladies in the air balloon hats is unavoidably postponed till more milliners arrive from France. The young ladies only intended to be *flighty*, but mothers and grandmothers are now to be of the party, having devoutly resolved to aspire after *celestial joys*. It is imagined they will take their flight for *elysium* at Paris.”

The breakfast o'er away they fly,
To platform raised some three feet high;*
Full in the front of all, where they,
Might view the business of the day.

When empty wheels proclaimed the fun,
Was o'er and all the drawing done;
Back to the room with joy they flew,
And each fond swain, his partner drew.
In equal ranks the pairs advance,
And sprightly C—— led the dance;
Enchanting B——'s easy freedom,
Left studied airs to those that need 'em;
Here Gentle H—— tript it finely,
And Charming M—— mov'd divinely;
Light-footed R—— here was seen
Like sportive fairy on the green;
In short dear Jack, you never saw,
A danco performed, with more *clat*:
But different beauties so perplex,
I can't remember who was next.

And now my friend I'll try to tell,
What stranger beauties bore the bell;
Believe me Jack, had you been here,
And seen the sweetly smiling C——
Whose face and figure beauties show,
Such as Apelles never drew;
And polish'd C—— with blooming face,
Display each captivating grace
Or her whom all our eyes were bent on,
The neatly tripping, lovely D——:
Your heart had lost its fav'rite ease,
And bow'd to beauties such as these.
The dance being done the hall grew thinner,
As one by one pop't off to dinner.
But sooth to say and freely speak,
I'd like such Lott'rys every week;
For thro' the whole of this transaction,
All was content and satisfaction.

A. B.

Calcutta, August 22nd, 1784.

The actual amount realized for the Church Building Fund by the Lottery was C. Rs. 26,088-6-8 besides, apparently, C. Rs. 10,764-12-9

* It was erected in the 'outer hall' for the accomodation of ladies.

received from the prizes;* doubtless some of the adventurers had presented their tickets to the Fund.

In the meanwhile the erection of the sacred edifice was going on rapidly. On Tuesday, April 6th, 1784—the Governor-General being then up-country—†

Mr. Wheler,‡ gave a public breakfast at the Old Court House at which were present the other members of Council and many of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta.

From the Court House they proceeded to the ground upon which the new Church is to be built, and the first stone was laid by Mr. Wheler with the usual ceremonies [that is to say Masonic ceremonies].

A prayer was read upon the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Johnson, head Chaplain of this Presidency.

The following is the inscription on the foundation stone :—

The first stone of this sacred building
Raised by the liberal and voluntary
Subscription of BRITISH SUBJECTS
AND OTHERS
Was laid under the auspices of
THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQUIRE,
Governour of India,
On the 6th day of the month of April 1784,
And the 13th year of his Government.§

The inscription plate was of brass, and cost C. Rs. 232. It was at first intended to build the spire on the spot where the old magazine stood, but this would have brought the altar to the west instead of to the east end, and it must have been for this reason that the idea was abandoned, and the foundations laid wholly (unless those of the eastern portico be excepted) within the limits of the old burying ground with the spire as it now stands, at the west.

Mr. Law on March 23rd offered to provide the church with a stone gateway, the stone to be brought from Gayah.¶

If this gateway were ever erected it has long since disappeared.

In July arrangements were made for procuring building stone from the ruins of the old city of Gaur, and the blue marble for the flooring of the church from the tombs of the kings existing there. The Committee transactions, [after this date, shew that large quantities of stone were imported from Chunar. The steeple is wholly built with this material.

* See *Calcutta Gazette*, April 26th, 1787, and Committee Proceedings, April 19th, 1787, page 98.

† A photograph of a letter from Mr. Warren Hastings relating to the Church, dated Bhagulpore, 17th February 1784, is given in *The Parish of Bengal*.

‡ Mr. Edward Wheler, Senior Member of Council, December 11th, 1774. Died October 10th, 1784.

§ *Gazette* : April 8th, 1784.

¶ Committee Proceedings. p. 133.

Miss Sophia Goldborne, writing at this time, informs her friend *Arabella* that—

At the new Fort, [a hasty inaccuracy] there is a new Church erecting on quite an European model, with Galleries, a set of bells and every suitable *et cetera*; the plan and foundation of which I have seen, conversed with the Architect, and from the whole form very high expectations of the superstructure.

The Committee endeavoured to induce the Government to grant to them the site of the Old Buxie Khannah—where *Ahmuty's* shop and the Stationery Office at present stand—so that the church might lie open to the river. This was even sanctioned *pro tempore*, but the grant was not carried into effect,* being cancelled on the 24th August 1785. By the 1st November 1784, the Committee had received, inclusive of the proceeds of the lottery, C. Rs. 67,934-3-9 towards the cost of the works in hand.

William Johnson by this time had become senior Presidency chaplain, as his colleague, Dr. James Burn, had resigned. On the 25th of March the *Rev. Thomas Blanshard*, chaplain to the garrison, was appointed junior at the Presidency, he undertaking to continue his former charge in addition to his new duties until his successor should be appointed.

In addition to these two appointments, the Minutes of Council for the 25th of March 1784 contain the following transactions relative to the ecclesiastical establishment:—

1. On the suggestion of Mr. Johnson all chaplains of the establishment were required to send in returns of their parish Registers half-yearly—1st February and 1st November—to the senior Presidency chaplain. It is soon found by the vestry minutes of St. John's that besides these communications received, it was the practice of Government to deal with the rest of the chaplains in matters relating to the provision of church plate, books, and other such necessities, through the senior Presidency chaplain only, who thus became a sort of official head of the ecclesiastical establishment.

2. It was ordered that all chaplains be restrained from doing duty at the Presidency without previously acquainting the senior chaplain. It is difficult to imagine what circumstances can have led to the making of this regulation, or its real object; nevertheless it is the earliest of many similar notices indicative of a tenacity of rights; or as, indeed, it may possibly have been, an alertness for fees, not very seemly in some members of the establishment. On the 14th of March of the next year, 1785, Mr. Blanshard obtained that the order should

* Public Consultations: December 16th, 1784.

be amended so as to restrain 'all military chaplains only'—thus excluding himself from the restriction. This order was re-affirmed by Government on the 22nd December 1788.

The year 1785 brought letters from the Court at home ordering a wholesale reduction in the salaries of its servants. Thus in a list of *Civil Officers*, dated 12th April, it is recorded that the two chaplains at the Presidency were then in receipt of rupees 14,400 per annum each (or Rs. 1,200 a month). It was proposed to reduce this to sicca Rs. 6,420 for salary and house rent 'as in 1776.' In a similar list of *Military Officers* chaplains to the garrison of Fort William and to the three brigades, then in receipt of major's pay and *batta*, were to be reduced to captain's pay and *batta*. The office of chaplain to the army, paid at Rs. 12,720 per annum, was to be abolished. No appointment, it may be remarked, had been made to this latter office since the resignation of the Rev. Mr. Welstrow Hulse, which appears to have taken effect on the 22nd March 1784. Nevertheless, strange to say, although the retrenchment scheme was pending, the Rev. Mr. Goddard was appointed to succeed Mr. Hulse as chaplain-general to the army on the 1st August 1786, and with enhanced allowances, namely, the same as those enjoyed by the Presidency chaplains, and with the *batta* which had been customary for officers to draw while officiating as brigade chaplains. Another office, set down in the list for abolition, was that of chaplain to the troops in the Vizier's Dominions, who then received Rs. 12,560 per annum, the incumbent to succeed to a brigade chaplaincy then vacant. On the 28th September, a month after the appointment of Mr. Goddard, all these curtailments were ordered by the Council to become effective.

Obviously the sudden reduction of salary from Rs. 1,200 to S. Rs. 535 a month pressed cruelly upon the two Presidency chaplains, or would have so done had they no private means. It drew forth from them a temperate but urgent remonstrance, which had the support of all the leading residents in the town. The document is here given in full as it is an illustration of the costliness of living in Calcutta in the golden age of Hastings:—

*To the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.**

HON'BLE SIRS,

The two Chaplains of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal beg leave, with all due respect and humility to represent their distressed situation to your Hon'ble Court in consequence of the late great reduction of their salaries by your order.

* Public Consultations: No. 55, Dec. 19th, 1785.

The Chaplains of the Presidency are confined by their duty to live in Calcutta where the rent and taxes of a house suitable to their rank are at the least 5,000 sicca rupees per annum and the wages of servants necessary to every family obliged to keep such a house not less than 2,760 rupees more by the year; amounting in all to 7,760 rupees per annum, the particulars of which will more fully appear by the annexed paper signed by the most respectable Inhabitants of this settlement. The present yearly salary of a Chaplain to the presidency is no more than 6,420 rupees. They indeed receive some occasional fees, but they have been of late years so very inconsiderable as by no means to make up the above deficiency and defray the expenses of a decent maintenance.

The salary of each of the Chaplains of Calcutta previous to the issuing of the above orders for their reduction amounted to 14,400 rupees per annum, and so far was this sum from presenting them with the hopes of a very small independence or even a sufficient sum to pay their passage home after many years' service, and most likely a broken constitution, that they waited only for the Company's prosperity to implore some further assistance.

When their salaries were increased from 800 to 1,200 rupees per month some year's ago it was lamented in a minute of council recorded on that occasion that "should the health of the Chaplains no longer permit their residence in India they will have nothing to support an infirm constitution in Europe for with their greatest frugality it is utterly impossible for them to save anything from their present income, which is not even adequate to their indispensable expenses."

In the year 1776 and previous to that period, when the Chaplains received no more than the present salary, the Hon'ble Governor-General and Council granted them such favours as made ample amends for the smallness of their income, favours of such a nature as seem now to be out of the power of the present Hon'ble Board, however inclined they may be, to serve the Clergy; and even commercial bodies which do not now exist, then liberally presented the clergy with some part of their profits as a voluntary addition to their scanty income.

While we are interceding for ourselves it is our duty likewise to recommend to you the state of the Chaplains to the army. The gentleman who officiates in the Garrison of Fort William and who of consequence must reside in this place has in common with ourselves to support its peculiar expenses. When you take into consideration that even a subaltern reading the prayers of the Church has always received the pay and batta of a Captain in addition to his own, that a large sum has been unavoidably expended in the education of a clergyman, that of necessity they enter into your service at a much later period in life than others, and that various little offices and engagements that are a source of gain to others, civil or military, lie not open to them, we doubt not that it will appear highly reasonable to you to restore your clergy in Bengal to their former stipends, which all who are acquainted with their situation must know are the smallest whereon they can recently subsist.

With all possible respect we have the honour of subscribing ourselves, gentlemen.

Your most obedient Servants,

WILLIAM JOHNSON.
THOMAS BLANSHARD.

It is doubtless equally the wish of the Hon'ble Court of Directors as of the Inhabitants of Calcutta that their clergy should be maintained with decency and honour, unreduced at least by poverty to those expedients of bettering their fortunes which suit not with their sacred functions. How unequal their present salary of 535 rupees per month is to the rank they everywhere bear in society, not to mention what has long been allotted them in this service, is needless to state to those who have lived in Bengal. To those who are unacquainted with the inevitable expenses of the country, it may be observed that the junior chaplain to the presidency, a gentleman whose frugality was never questioned did actually pay 400 sicca rupees per month as well as 50 sicca rupees and upwards a quarter for taxes for the House in which he lately dwelt, nor do we know of any house in Calcutta (adequate to his situation) which he could have obtained for less money. Families who use all reasonable economy seldom incur less expenses than 250 rupees per month in the wages of their servants.* These seems at an economical

* The *Calcutta Gazette* of this year publishes a comparative list of the current wages of domestic servants, besides those recommended by the zamindars of Calcutta 26 years earlier, viz., in 1759. The two lists are here given together.

				Monthly wages approved in	Monthly wages actually obtained
				1759.	in 1785.
				Rs.	Rs.
Khansama	...	...	...	5	10 to 25
Chubdar	...	...	...	5	6 to 8
Head cook	...	...	...	5	15 to 30
Coachman	...	...	...	5	10 to 20
Head female servant	...	...	...	5	...
Jemadar	...	...	...	4	8 to 15
Khitmutgar	...	...	...	3	6 to 8
Cook's first mate	...	...	...	3	6 to 12
Head bearer	...	...	...	3	4
Second female servant	...	...	...	3	...
Poons (each)	...	...	...	2-3	4 to 6
Bearers (each)	...	...	...	2-3	...
Washerman to a family	...	...	...	3	15 to 20
Ditto to a single gentleman	...	...	...	1-3	6 to 8
Syco	...	...	...	2	5 to 6
Masalchi	...	...	...	2	4
Shaving barber	...	...	...	1-3	2 to 4
Hair dresser	...	...	...	...	6 to 16
Khurtchburdar	...	...	...	...	4
House Malli	...	...	...	...	...
Grass cutter	...	...	...	1-4	2 to 4
Motherani or 'Harry woman' to a family	...	...	...	2	4 to 6
Ditto ditto to a gentleman	...	...	...	1	...
Dhai or wet-nurse	...	...	...	4	12 to 16 (besides clothes),
Ayah or dry-nurse	...	...	...	4	12 to 16 (ditto.)

It will probably be considered that on the whole, with the exception of *personal servants* (bearers and khitmutgars), wages of domestics in Calcutta have remained almost without change for the past hundred years. Families, however, 'who use all reasonable economy, contrive in 1899 to employ fewer servants than was usual in 1785.

calculation will not amount to more than half the entire monthly expense of living in this place. From the above short statement the undersigned Inhabitants of Calcutta consider themselves bound to represent to the Hon'ble Court that some further encouragement is necessary, if they hope for men of talents and character in their profession to reside among them.

ROBERT CHAMBERS.
I. DAY.
GILES STIRBERT.
S. HAMPION.
SIMEON DROZ.
JACOB RIDER.
RICHARD JOHNSON.
HENRY VANSITTART.
CLAUD ALEXANDER.
WILLIAM PAWSON.
W. A. EDMONSTONE.
W. LARKINS.

} &c., (in all 119 signatures).

This petition was forwarded by the Council with an approving minute to the Court on behalf of the signatories. By the 20th January 1787, as no reply had been up to that time received from the Court, the petition was repeated with an additional recommendation by the Council.

Of all the chaplains in Bengal Mr. Johnson was the best able to survive the retrenchment of his official income, for evidently he had acquired, perhaps by his marriage, considerable personal property. In this year 1785 we find him leasing a house to Government at Rs. 2,000 a month, and selling another, then occupied by the General, for sicca rupees 90,000, and on the 28th November 1787 he offered the Government a piece of land by the river side for sicca rupees 65,000,—an offer which was declined. A minor emolument of his was Rs. 100 paid by the vestry for the oversight of the charity school, a charge which he took over at the beginning of the year on the return of the Rev. Mr. Diemer to Europe.

The minutes of the Building Committee in 1785—beautifully written by Mr. John Baptist L'Evesque, the parish clerk who had succeeded to Aldwell—record the accession to its members of another clergyman, the *Rev. Henry John Pemberton*, a Company's chaplain, who, having been transferred from Surat to Bengal, had been officiating at Fategarh until he was appointed to succeed Mr. Blanshard as garrison chaplain. After acting for a few months on the Committee, he resigned his chaplaincy on the 6th of December, and retired.

On the 10th of November, the Committee received the news of the Court's resolution granting them £1,200 towards the provision of communion plate, an organ, a clock, bells, and velvet for the pulpit, desk, and communion table. In preparing the foundations for the steeple or western porch of the church the tombstone of Surgeon William Hamilton was discovered, and* it was decided on the 7th January 1786, 'in accord with a wish expressed by the late Governor-General Hastings,' to place the tombstone 'in the centre nich of the entrance at the east end of the church, and that the inscription be beautified by gilding the letters.' There is no indication of this resolution having been carried out; the slab is now in the Charnock mausoleum.

On the 21st of December occurs the following minute:—

Agreed that the pulpit be placed between the two center western pillars and that the center of the floor be laid with black marble and the floor within the railing with white marble. The white marble obtained from China by Mr. Agg be purchased for the above purpose.

Thus happily the tombs of the kings at Gaur were spared destruction, but a large quantity of other stone was imported from the ruined city. The pulpit, if it ever occupied the singular position designed for it, must have been removed in 1797 when the orchestral gallery was constructed.

The minutes of Council of 1786 contain one reference to the affairs of St. John's Chapel. An organist, by name Mr. Charles Ladd, had apparently come out from England at the end of 1784, and had been engaged at the chapel without salary, it would seem, and in hope of permanent employment at the new church when opened. On the 3rd July 1786 the Government, at the request of Mr. Johnson, assigned to this gentleman a salary of Rs. 100 a month, with effect from January 1st of the previous year. One other reference to the chapel at this time is found in the records in the Grand Lodge of Freemasons, of which Mr. Johnson was an energetic member. It had been the custom for the fraternity to attend divine service from time to time at St. John's Chapel, and the last occasion on which they did so was on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, 1786, when the Provincial Grand Lodge accompanied by the private lodges went thither in procession, 'brother William Johnson' preaching the sermon as usual on the occasion. The next masonic anniversary was celebrated at the new church.

* See page 70.

The parish sustained a serious loss by the death of its church-warden, Mr. Henry Vansittart, who departed this life on Saturday, the 7th October 1786, after a few days' illness. He was not only a painstaking official of the church, but an indefatigable servant of Government, and a most accomplished gentleman.* Mr. Vansittart, like Mr. Larkins, his predecessor, apparently held his office of church-warden without the assistance of a sidesman, he and the chaplains constituting the select vestry with Robert Hollier as their clerk. The latter had arrived from England about the end of 1785, and took over charge from L'Evesque.† Hollier discharged the duties also of parish clerk and schoolmaster of the charity boys. The parish clerks were also choir singing masters. The salary of the office was raised on January 1788 from sicca rupees 50 to 100 a month.

By January 1787, the Building Committee (which by this time had practically shrunk to the following six working members—Mr. Edward Hay, *Secretary*, the two chaplains, Mr. Richard Johnson, Mr. Andrew Williams, and Mr. Cudbert Thornhill) finding itself short of funds, applied to the Government for a grant of sicca rupees 35,000. The Government does not appear to have granted the money, but suggested that the Committee should furnish to it a list of those who had not *yet* paid their subscriptions. On receiving this list the Government directed the Committee to notify the public that the names of all defaulters after an early date would be published in the *Gazette*. By the 19th April a balance-sheet issued by the Committee shows that the total receipts had amounted to C. Rs. 123,701-3-10. There had been expended through Lieutenant Agg for materials, C. Rs. 81,863-2-8; and for work, C. Rs. 47,775-7-6. Stone from Chunar was paid for separately at a cost of C. Rs. 15,455-10-6; stone from Gaur cost C. Rs. 1,258-4-8; timber C. Rs. 14,086-12-3; chunam C. Rs. 10,614; printing C. Rs. 910-9-6, besides miscellaneous charges. The account shows the Committee as being C. Rs. 481-9-0 in deficit, and was made the ground of a further vigorous effort to obtain subscriptions. It was estimated that C. Rs. 50,954-2-1 more was required, a sum which was to include Rs. 22,793-4-0 as remuneration to Lieutenant Agg for his services.

At the same time, April 19th, 1787, the Committee received the munificent offer from the painter, Mr. John Zoffany, R.A., of a great

* See Obituary Notice in *Gazette* of October 12th.

† Buried at Calcutta, September 7th, 1795, "Mr. John Baptist L'Evesque, 2nd master at the Orphan School."

picture of the Last Supper which he was then finishing. It was designed to be an altar-piece for the new church—itself then nearly ready for its reception. The Committee accepted the gift with alacrity, and the work was ready and in its place on the 24th of June, when the ceremony of consecration was performed. The following day the Committee wrote to the artist a letter in which the following passage occurs:—

We should do a violence to your delicacy were we to express or endeavour to express in such terms as the occasion calls for our sense of the favour you have conferred upon the settlement by presenting to their place of worship so capital a painting that it would adorn the first Church in Europe and should excite in the breasts of its spectators those sentiments of virtue and piety which are so happily portrayed in its figures.*

It had been proposed by the Rev. Mr. Johnson and Mr. Cudbert Thornhill to send with the letter a ring of Rs. 5,000 value as a testimonial: the rest of the Committee, however, though warmly inclined to the proposal, negatived it on the ground of lack of funds.

It is said that the Apostles in this fine painting, which now hangs in excellent preservation over the west gallery of the church, are portraits of leading merchants of the city, and that Father Parthenio, the Greek clergyman, sat for the figure of our Blessed Lord. The tradition is quite in keeping with what might have been expected from a theatrical portrait-painter like Zoffany, who had often depicted David Garrick and his contemporaries of the stage in their celebrated parts. He was used to portray real personages *in character*: indeed his emigration to India is believed to have been made necessary by an impudent adventure of this sort in a picture called 'The Life School.' It is said too, though a careful search in the records of the Supremo Court has failed to discover any proof of the tradition, that Mr. Tulloh, the wealthy auctioneer, finding his portrait upon the shoulders of Judas in this very altar-piece, instituted a suit on that account against Zoffany for libel.

There can be little doubt but that the faces are mostly portraits, for they are quite unidealised and some of them commonplace.

By the following October the great picture was found to be mildewed, but the removal of a backing of canvass ventilated the painting and the mischief ceased.

On the 8th of May, the new church being then very nearly complete, a general vestry of the inhabitants of Calcutta was held to re-establish the parish organization, there being at the moment neither

* Building Committee Proceedings, p. 168. A photograph of this Altar-piece is given in *The Parish of Bengal*.

church-warden nor sidesman. With the minutes of this meeting the existing series of vestry proceedings opens—all earlier records of the sort having been lost among the personal effects of the late church-warden Vansittart. The meeting was presided over by the Right Honourable Charles Earl Cornwallis, K.G., the Governor-General, who had arrived in India the previous year—and there were ten gentlemen present besides the chaplains. Up to this time there had been but one churchwarden in the parish (which then comprised the whole Bengal presidency), and one sidesman; but the functions of these two officials being practically the same, it is likely they were popularly known as ‘the church-wardens:’ hence when the parochial organization was rehabilitated by the general vestry of 1787, the prevailing English usage of having two church-wardens in a parish was adopted without debate, and two sidesmen, therefore, were appointed to support them. To the former office *Edward Hay* and *Richard Johnson* were elected, and to the latter *Charles Sealy** and *Cudbert Thornhill*. These four, with the chaplains, thenceforth constituted the select vestry, and at once took over charge from Mr. George Powney, Mr. Church-warden Vansittart’s executor, of the charity fund which then consisted of,—besides the Court House for which a monthly rent of S. R. 800 was drawn from Government,—

in ready money	...	...	Rs.	49,556	11	11
in two Company’s bonds	...	...	„	58,200	0	0
				<hr/>		
				Rs. 1,07,756		
				<hr/>		

On the 17th of May, Mr. Church-warden Hay and Mr. Sidesman Thornhill qualified themselves by taking oath in the Supreme Court before Mr Justice Hyde. On the 31st it was announced in the *Gazette* that the Governor-General had fixed the 24th of June for the consecration of the now completed church. Lord Cornwallis, as we learn from an earlier number of the *Gazette*, had the previous year brought out with him the legal instruments necessary to the consecration, under the seal of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is very much to be regretted that repeated searches both at Calcutta and among the muniments of the Company in London and also in the Registers of the diocese of London and the Canterbury Registers at Lambeth (where they should have been engrossed after execution), have failed to discover any copy of these consecration deeds. That they were received and duly executed there is abundant evidence, and of their general tenour there

* A fine portrait of Mr. Charles Sealy is preserved at St. John’s (photograph in P. B.)

can be no doubt. Like those issued by the Bishop of London for the consecration of St. Anne's in 1709,* they must have consisted of —

1. A commission from the Archbishop, constituting William Johnson his Grace's surrogate at the consecration.

2. A petition to the surrogate or commissary from the Bengal Council to execute his said commission, with an undertaking to hold the church as a holy place, and separate to the sacred uses of the Church of England for ever.

3. A sentence of consecration to be pronounced and signed by the commissary on the occasion of the ceremony. 'The Act of Consecration and Dedication' was printed, and the parish records testify that on the 14th of June, at a full meeting of the Select Vestry, Mr. Johnson delivered over to the church-wardens three hundred printed copies of the 'Act,' not one of which has been preserved.

The loss of the consecration deeds—searched for and found missing in 1835—is the more to be regretted as it leaves an element of uncertainty as to the Saint under whose name the church is dedicated. We have already shewn that the balance of probability points to St. John the Baptist as the Patron Saint of the Chapel;† and the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist was fixed upon as the consecration day of the new church. It is curious to find this doubt as to the identity of the Saint raised in the very month of the consecration.

The *Gazette* of June 21st, 1787, has the following:—

The following queries are addressed to the Church Committee or to any of the intelligent members of it who may have leisure sufficient to answer them:—

Why is the Altar of a church in *Calcutta* placed opposite the East?

To what Saint or Saints is the new church dedicated or to be dedicated?

No reply appears in later issues of the *Gazette* to these enquiries. To the former the answer is obvious—because the sun rises in the East. To the latter we can now only answer—most likely to Saint John the Baptist.

The minutes of the Church Committee for June 11th contain the following interesting memoranda:—

1. That the title-deeds of the "church ground," that is to say, of the newly acquired magazine yard, had been duly made over to the secretary of the Committee.

2. That two handsome windfalls had accrued to the fund under the favour of Lord Cornwallis, the former being a sum of S.

* See page 56.

† See page 121.

Rs. 7,206-5-3, resulting from the sale of certain confiscated goods; the other being S. Rs. 5,688-9-4, the produce of the melting down of the bullion, and sale of purdhas and of poles cased with silver belonging to a state pavilion which apparently had been damaged by fire.

3. That Lord Cornwallis deemed the organ in the chapel in the old Fort to be very unfit for removal to the church, and that therefore, as the organ indented for to Europe had not yet arrived, Mr. Johnson had hired an instrument at eighty rupees a month for temporary use.

4. That Mr. Cudbert Thornhill was requested to obtain the loan of one of the bells in the old Fort to be rung on the day of consecration. It has already been remarked that there is still in the steeple of the church a bell, now cracked, bearing the date 1777: if this be not the chapel bell, it may, perhaps, be the bell thus lent. It is probably not the ship bell bought, according to the minutes of August 28th following, for S. Rs. 160 at Colonel Watson's outcry. That bell is recorded to have weighed $2\frac{1}{2}$ cwt., while the existing cracked one weighs about 1 cwt. less than this.

5. 'That the Tent now in the old Fort be removed to and placed within the new church.' This must relate to a store of Sacramental wine.

On Sunday, the 24th of June, being the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, the consecration was performed with the utmost solemnity. The *Gazette* of the 28th June records that—

A very numerous and respectable company of ladies and gentlemen assembled on this occasion. The Right Honourable the Governor-General, General Carnick, Colonel Ross, Colonel Pearce, Sir Robert Chambers, Mr. Justice Hyde, etc., etc. were of the number. After the act of consecration was performed a collection was made amongst the audience which we hear amounted to *sicca rupees three thousand*. A sermon was then preached by the Rev. Mr. Johnson who chose for his text on this occasion a part of the last verse of the 93rd Psalm "*Holiness becometh Thy House for ever*," after which the Sacrament was administered and the whole was concluded with the consecration of the Church ground.

The collection really amounted to S. Rs. 3,943-3-0, and went to the charity school.

In view of the grandeur of the occasion most careful arrangements for seating the congregation were made by the church-wardens, and previously announced in italics in the *Gazette*. These arrangements affected mainly the occupants of the galleries, which were then esteemed a far more honourable situation than the church floor. To understand the published announcements we have to assume that the main entrance to the church was then at the east end, the staircases designed

to occupy the room of the present vestries were not then (and probably never were) built, and that the north side of the church was, contrary to all precedent, taken to be more honourable than the south—an arrangement which still obtains at St. John's; thus the Governor-General and Council were seated in the midst of the north gallery. The ladies of the settlement sat on either hand of these, while facing them on the south sat the gentlemen of the settlement, with the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in their midst. A pew at the west end of this gallery near the pulpit was assigned to the church-wardens and sidesmen. The organ was placed in the western gallery with the clergymen's pew in front of it, therefore immediately behind the pulpit. European pew-openers attended at the gallery pews which were furnished with 'couches and chairs.' As for the floor of the church no arrangement was made; it was free to the general public; no chairs were provided here; however, worshippers were probably expected to send in their own.

The ladies, eventually, took so strong a dislike to the north gallery—which was to be their permanent place in church—that they had to be moved over in a body to the south gallery, the gentlemen, of course, changing over to please them. This change is duly notified to the settlement in the *Gazette* of the following October 11th.

In the 'poet's corner' of the previous issue of the *Gazette* appeared the following verse which very likely was considered witty in its day:—

[On a late change]
 The Ladies on the Lord relied
 To dignify their forms divine.
 But now forsaken by their pride
 To Court the praying maidens join. CHRISTIANUS

They had quitted the gallery of the Governor-General for that of the Judges.

The main entrance at first was in the midst of the eastern wall. This led into a vestibule containing the staircases to the galleries and the back of the curved recess in which the altar stood. Over the altar, hung Zofanny's painting. The floor within the rails was of white marble, while that of the body of the church was of a grey or blue stone.

Among those who attended by special invitation at the consecration was the Priest of the Armenians, a community always treated by the English in Calcutta with marked friendship. In the library of the Armenian convent at Jerusalem, the brethren exhibit with pride to visitors a printed record of this visit of their clergyman to St. John's

which relates that he was placed with the English clergy near the Altar.*

An elevation of the south side of the church, taken apparently from an architect's drawing, is preserved at the British Museum,† and in the Vestry is a copy of a drawing of the entire edifice, taken in 1788 by Daniell, from the S. E. gate, and another taken in 1795 from the same spot by William Bailey. These show the church to have been originally as at present, with the exception of the wide porticoes on the north and south erected in 1811, and the carriage porch at the west and the sacarium at the east end, both of which latter works were added within the present generation.

On the day after the consecration, Monday, the new-born infants of Mr. Richard C. Plowden and Mr. John Bingh were baptized by Mr. Johnson within the church; the *Gazette* remarking upon this unwonted obedience to rubrics—

It is hoped so laudable an example will become the general practice as the convenience of the new Church now removes every possible objection which may have existed before: the solemnity of the place must also most naturally point it out as best adapted for those sacred obligations which the parties concerned enter into on such occasions.

That the sanctity of the Sacrament of Regeneration lay in God's Grace rather than in the minister's charge to the sponsors was not an idea that suggested itself to the gazetteer.

* See *Calcutta Review*, July 1891, "A Neglected Classical Language," by the Rev. Graham Sandberg

King's Library Maps, vol. cxv.

CHAPTER XV.

1787 and 1788.

THE select vestry assembled in full session, the Governor-General being present, on Thursday, the 28th of June 1787, within the week of the consecration of the new Presidency church; and formally defined the duties of church-wardens and sidesmen. As these regulations must be regarded as forming the basis of parochial administration in Bengal in all church vestries and committees to the present time, they are here given in full from the *Gazette* :—

The duties of church-wardens and vestry men in Calcutta having never been particularly defined and the provisions of the Statutes which exist in England for the discharge of these offices being in some cases unnecessary in this country and in others inapplicable to the usage of it; the following regulations chiefly selected from *Burn's Justice* are adopted with respect to churchwardens and sidesmen or assistants and with respect to Vestrys. It is presumed however that the gentlemen acting as churchwardens or under that name do act as such from a necessity that the duties of this office should be executed and in conformity to the long established custom of this Settlement: for as Calcutta is not of itself a parish though in a parish and there are no legal powers to levy Church rates in it, or to compel the performance of some of the functions properly belonging to the office of churchwardens the persons acting as churchwardens in Calcutta cannot be considered by the law as properly described under that specification, but they must be considered to act with the consent of the inhabitants for whose advantage and good they perform the duty.

CHURCHWARDENS.

1. There shall be two churchwardens one of whom shall be chosen in Easter week by the ministers, and the other at the same time by the joint consent of the Governour-General and members of the Counsel the Chaplains at the Presidency and such inhabitants as may at a meeting called for that purpose by an advertisement in the *Gazette*.

2. A person chosen churchwarden shall take the following oath of office 'I. A. B. do swear that I will truly and faithfully and according to the best of my skill and knowledge execute the office of churchwarden, so help me God.'

3. Churchwardens thus sworn are to take care of the goods of the Church and may purchase goods for its use.

4. They are to continue in office till the new churchwardens be chosen and sworn unless the same should be re-elected.

5. They are to see that the Church ways be well kept and repaired and the fabric of the Church and utensils thereunto belonging preserved and taken care of.

6. Every churchwarden is an overseer of the poor and in this capacity has the superintendence and distribution of the funds of the Charity School established

at this presidency and with the ministers and members of the Vestry the general care of that School and of those belonging to it.

7. The churchwardens shall not suffer any idle persons either in the Church-yard or Church Porch during the time of divine service.

8. They shall take care to have in the Church a large Bible, Book of Common Prayer, Book of Homilies, a Font of stone, a decent Communion table with proper covering, the ten commandments set up in the East End and other chosen sentences upon the walls, a reading desk and pulpit and chest for Alms—all at the public expense.

9. They are to keep the keys of the Belfrey and not suffer the bells to be rung without their leave and that of the ministers.

10. They are to have a box wherein to keep the Register with three locks and keys, two keys to be kept by them and one by the minister. They shall from time to time see that the minister has regularly entered therein all the Baptisms, Marriages and Burials of the time preceding: and they shall yearly within a month after Christmas lay before the Governour-General in Counsel an attested copy of the Register of the preceding year to be transmitted to the Court of Directors.

11. They are with the advice of the minister to provide bread and wine for the Communion.

12. They are to regulate and appropriate the seats in the Church according to the best of their judgment with the concurrence of the ministers.

13. At the end of the year or within a month after it at the most they shall at a Vestry give up a just account to be annually published in the *Gazette* of such money as they received and also what they have particularly bestowed in reparations and otherwise for the use of the Church. And they shall deliver up the money and the goods in their hands to be delivered over to the next churchwardens, and if they have received less than they have expended the succeeding churchwardens shall pay what is due to them and charge it amongst the disbursements.

14. For disbursements of small sums not exceeding forty Rupees, their own oath is to be considered sufficient proof, and for all sums above that amount receipts are to be produced.

15. The amount being audited and allowed is to be signed by the Vestry or at least five members of it and entered in the Church Book of accounts.

16. If the churchwardens waste the goods of the Church the new churchwardens are to bring their action at common law against the offenders. The churchwardens are not to be answerable for indiscretion but for deceit only if they lay out more money than is needful.

SIDESMEN.

17. At the time that the churchwardens are elected there shall be officers called sidesmen chosen to assist them. They shall be sworn according to the forme following.

"I. A. B. do swear that I will be assistant to the churchwardens in the execution of their office so far as by law I am bound, so help me God."

VESTRIES.

18. A Select Vestry is to be composed of the Governour-General and members of the Counsel and the Chaplains of the Presidency and is to assist in managing the concerns of the Church and to audit the churchwardens' account and in all cases except the last or any in which the churchwardens or sidesmen are members of it also. (*Sic*).

19. With respect to the General Vestry which will be seldom necessary public notice is to be given in the Church on Sunday before any meeting of such Vestry shall be called and the purpose of assembling it shall be declared that all may have full time for considering the business that is to be proposed at the meeting. All persons who shall have a Vote in the Vestry shall have an equal right and all business is to be decided on by a majority of the meeting.

These regulations were evidently made in conformity with certain provisions in the consecration deeds, for with reference to its constitution the select vestry wrote as follows on the 19th April, 1810, to Government:—

We think it right to state that it appears from the records on the consecration of St. John's Church that the ecclesiastical laws, rights and privileges in use in England were to be applied as far as circumstances would admit, to the *Parish Church of Calcutta*, and in conformity to the long established custom at this settlement, and that the management and concern of all matters appertaining thereto were delegated by the Church Committee to the Vestry, of which the Governor-General is a member whenever he may be pleased to take his seat at a meeting of the Vestry.

The Altar Vessels indented for by the committee did not arrive in time for use at the consecration, but in September following a box marked 'Church Plate,' was reported as lying unclaimed at the Custom House. No bill of lading concerning it had reached Calcutta, but on being made over to the select vestry it was opened and found to contain the magnificent service of altar vessels which continues in use and in perfect preservation to the present day.* The whole is of silver heavily gilt, and is the work of Messrs. Aldersey, Bensley and Darell, goldsmiths of London, the pieces and their weight being thus recorded in the vestry minutes of September 15th—

Weight of the Chalice	...	96 oz. 15 dwts.	Apothecary's weight.
One salver	...	48 „ 0 „	
The other salver	...	47 „ 6 „	
One cup	...	22 „ 15 „	
The other cup	...	21 „ 15 „	
		237 oz. .	

* A photograph of this service of plate is given in *The Parish of Bengal*.

By 'chalice' the church-wardens meant *flagon*. The 'salvers' are huge patens each elevated on a foot. The whole are richly adorned with classical foliage in high relief with embossed medallions of the Last Supper. They bear the arms of the Company with an inscription dated 1787 recording their gift. To these vessels were afterwards added two silver alms plates, and, in 1821, a very large perforated 'spoon,' and another paten similar in size and weight to the 'salvers,' but without ornament, the two latter ornaments being of Calcutta workmanship.

Up to the end of 1787 the charity school foundation maintained no more than twenty boys, but its increasing income began to warrant an expansion in its useful work: its capital and cash at the time amounted to about two and a quarter lakhs. On the 13th of September of that year the vestry resolved to add a female side to the institution. Accordingly the following January four girl children were elected upon the foundation and, there being no house accommodation for them on Mr. Kiernander's premises,* they were put out to board and schooling with a Mrs. Jane Jarvis at Rs. 35 a month each, exclusive of clothing. Lists and estimates for the said clothing are to be found in the vestry minutes. It was proposed eventually to maintain twenty girls. On January 17th there were thirty-two boys in the school, of whom ten were probably day-scholars.

On the 28th of January, Mr. Johnson requested leave of the Council to proceed to Europe without resigning his chaplaincy. He was, however, informed that he must resign previous to a return to Europe, but that the Council would recommend to the Court of Directors that he should be permitted to return to Bengal should he desire it. On this condition Johnson sent in his resignation, and sailed in the *O. S. Atlas* on the 14th of the following month. He took with him three and a half lakhs of rupees. His wife the 'Begum Johnson' preferred not to accompany him. Johnson never returned; there is no trace of his having obtained preferment in England, but he was evidently living there in 1811, as he is alluded to in his wife's will dated that year. There is a half length portrait of him in oils at St. John's Church, an excellent work most likely by Zoffany.† Johnson's somewhat abrupt departure, whether occasioned by urgent private affairs or, as is more likely, by considerations of health, was the occasion of a widely felt regret in Calcutta where he had been deservedly

* He had become bankrupt in October 1787. A view of the Mission Church *Belk-Tephillah* which he built taken in 1788 is given in *The Parish of Dergal*.

† Photograph in P. B.

popular among all classes, whose respect as well as affection he had won by his energy and zeal in the discharge of his ministry. The following interesting record of this regret and esteem is found in the proceedings of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Freemasons in Bengal under date of 6th February 1788:—*

Bro. the Rev. William Johnson, Provincial Grand Chaplain, being about to proceed home, a letter was addressed to him, requesting the favor of his services in England in connection with the affairs of the Provincial Grand Lodge. His reply will be found interesting:—"As a severe indisposition prevents me taking that personal leave which I intended this evening, permit me to express those sentiments of brotherly affection and regard which I feel and shall ever retain for the Provincial Grand Master, officers, and members of the Provincial Grand Lodge. The active zeal which has lately so conspicuously shone in the support of its authority, and the good effects daily arising from the discipline and well ordering of the several Lodges established in this part of India, and indeed in the whole economy of Freemasonry at this time in Bengal, cannot pass unnoticed by the community in general, and must be viewed with singular pleasure and heart felt satisfaction by one who has the honor of holding an appointment under the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal, and has for so many years been a member of it.

The period, my Brethren, is now closing upon me in which I am not only most cordially to thank you for the honor the Provincial Grand Master conferred upon me in appointing me Provincial Grand Chaplain, but, alas! in which, too, I am to undergo the painful necessity of resigning into your hands that honor which, having possessed, I shall ever esteem the greatest of my life.

You are, my respected Brethren, not unacquainted with the occasion which induces me to quit a claim and station agreeable both to my habits and wishes, and the impulse I feel myself under of rendering some further service to the Church which has been here erected by the liberality of the Community at large and which I hope the Legislature at home will now consider as under its more immediate protection and care, and give it such support as the dignity of our religion and the Government of the Church of England require.

It is almost needless to say that this hope of mine has already been treated in a manner it does not merit, not indeed from any inconsistency or impropriety in itself, but from the almost insurmountable difficulty, as it is conceived, of carrying it into effect. Such reasoners also argued the impossibility of building a Church in this place by subscription. The event, however, has shown them mistaken. And there are those, my Brethren, who, guided by I know not what spirit, affirm that the honor I mean to solicit for the Church in India is designed for myself. Such insinuations I am very capable of bearing up against. It was said also that the scheme for building the Church was a scheme for making a fortune.

The event here, too, has proved no such thing as was intended. Having taken this method, my Brethren, then, to make you acquainted with the motive

* See *History of Freemasonry in Bengal*, by Andrew D'Cruz, Junior Calcutta, 1866.

of my returning to England, permit me as a man and a mason, and with that inviolable regard to truth, to assure you, that if in my application for rendering further service to the Church in India my own interest is connected, I shall from that moment consider myself an Apostate from the design I have held out to Government here, and which I have now the happiness of avowing to you.

Wishing, most Worshipful, Right Worshipful, and Brethren that the steps which you are now pursuing for the dignity and support of Masonry in these Provinces may ensure you success, and that the Provincial Grand Lodge, together with the Lodges under its protection, may long be guided by unanimity and blessed with peace, I am, with the sacred numbers.

Your affectionate Brother,

WILLIAM JOHNSON.

In order to introduce their reverend brother to the Grand Lodge of England, the following letter, dated the 6th February 1788, was written by the Provincial Grand Lodge:—

The Rev. Bro. William Johnson is now on his return to Europe. He has been sixteen years in this country as one of the Chaplains of this Settlement, and for three years past has been the principal chaplain, in which capacity he did perform the act of consecration of the new Church lately erected here by voluntary subscription.

The proposal for building it was made and zealously supported by him, and it was consecrated on the Festival of St. John the Baptist one of the Patrons of the Fraternity.

It is a large and elegant building, and considering that the first proposal and the subscriptions, or at least much the greatest part of them, were made during a most expensive war, and when both the public and all private persons were distressed for money, it shows a generous and a noble spirit in the British inhabitants of this city. It is with very great satisfaction we assure your Most Worshipful Lodge, that during the time Bro. Johnson has been here, his ministry in the sacred functions of his duty has given universal satisfaction, and procured him the esteem and respect of the whole colony.

We have the pleasure to inform you that Bro. Johnson has been a member of the Fraternity for about fifteen years.

His zeal procured him to be very early appointed Senior Warden of Lodge No. 1, the then Master of which having, in his capacity as Company's servant, been sent to a subordinate [? factory] Bro. Johnson carried on the business of the Lodge with great zeal, regularity and decorum. He afterwards was appointed Provincial Grand Secretary, of which office he performed the duty to the perfect satisfaction of the Lodge. But he has served an office more consonant to the sacred functions of his clerical capacity—that of Provincial Grand Chaplain. Several years passed before this appointment was thought of, but he was ever most obligingly ready, and did on all occasions perform the duty thereof. We beg leave to introduce him to your most Worshipful Lodge, and to recommend him to your kindness and brotherly affection, of which we know him to be most worthy and deserving. It is with much satisfaction that we refer you to him as perfectly

capable of giving you a full account of the state of masonry in this part of the world.

On the previous Feast of St. John the Evangelist the Freemasons of Calcutta marched in procession to St. John's, where, says the Gazette (January 3rd, 1788)—

An historical sermon on the occasion was preached by the Revd. Mr. Johnson, a member of the Fraternity, who traced the origin of the society from the ancient Egyptians, and enumerated its several revolutions, encouragements and persecutions down to the present period, concluding with many excellent doctrinal maxims, for the qualifications and conduct of a true mason, who, he strongly argued, must necessarily be a good man, and a worthy member of the society of mankind in general.

The *Rev. Thomas Blanshard* succeeded Johnson in the Senior Presidency chaplaincy, while the *Rev. John Owen* took Blanshard's place as Junior.

CHAPTER XVI.

1788 and 1789.

WHEN William Johnson resigned the senior chaplaincy at Calcutta in 1788, and retired to England, his junior colleague, *Thomas Blanshard*, was appointed to the vacant place, and *John Owen* was promoted from the garrison to the junior chaplaincy.

John Owen was the only son of John Owen, described in the family records* as 'a Ship husband at Portsmouth,' and Hannah his wife. Having amassed a comfortable fortune, John and Hannah Owen retired to Publow near Pensford, Somersetshire, about seven miles from Bristol. Here they had been residents for some considerable period, when in 1780 they appear in the journals of the Rev. John Wesley as intimate personal friends whose hospitality he was accustomed to enjoy when visiting their neighbourhood. For more than half a century Pensford was one of John Wesley's preaching stations. Wesley in his journals repeatedly speaks of the Owens, father, mother, three daughters, and a son, with respect and affection as 'the lovely family at Publow.'

The family history is briefly as follows:—*Elizabeth*, the eldest child, born in 1746, married William Pine of Bristol, where she died on the 16th December 1822, aged 76 years. She had no children.

John Wesley held this lady in especial esteem—as witness his journals—for her services to the cause of religious education. She, with the help of her relatives, founded at Pensford a school for poor children, which still exists.

Hannah Frances, the next in age, born in 1749, married William Ford; she died at Weymouth in May 1820, aged 71, and lies buried in the parish of Wike. She had but two children, daughters, who lived together at Clifton,—spinsters till their deaths.

The third child was *Mary*, the only member of her generation who left offspring. She was born in 1750, and, on the 2nd of January, was married at Camberwell to Joseph Beardmore, also a close friend of the Wesleys, especially of John. They resided first at 38 Milk Street, Cheapside, in the city of London, and afterwards at Islington.

* The chief part of the information relating to the Owen family, except where otherwise indicated, has been furnished by the kindness of two descendants of the Rev. John Owen's sister, Mary,—the Rev. H. L. Beardmore and Mrs. Austin Dobson.

Joseph and Mary Beardmore were amongst the Church of England friends of John Wesley who materially aided him in the erection of "The City Chapel" opened on the 1st of November 1778. When the first vacancies in the trusteeship of the chapel had to be filled up, Mr. Beardmore was chosen to fill one of them, and by his co-trustees he was chosen their treasurer, which office he held for some years.* He was also a trustee of other Wesleyan foundations. It is interesting to know that the true spirit of John Wesley was loyally transmitted by him to his descendants who never separated themselves from the communion of the Mother Church. The intimate friendship between the Wesleys, Owens and Beardmores, in all fidelity to the Church, is illustrated in the lives of the ensuing generation of the Beardmores. The children of Joseph and Mary were eight in number, the three youngest of whom were baptized by the Rev. John Wesley, namely:—

- (6) *John-Owen*, born June 6th, 1785,
- (7) *Joshua*, born January 15th, 1787, baptized privately at 38 Milk Street, Cheapside, on the 15th of the next month,
- and (8) *Frances*, born June 30th, 1790. She was baptized privately at Islington, and is believed to have been the last infant baptized by Mr. Wesley, who died on the 2nd of March of the following year 1791. The China bowl from which the sacrament was administered is still preserved as a sacred heirloom by the Rev. Henry John Beardmore, the grandson of her brother Joshua.

The attachment to the tradition of the Wesleys thus marked by baptism was further emphasized in the deaths of three of the eight children of Joseph and Mary Beardmore, for in a vault prepared in the cemetery of the City Chapel for the interment of the aged Mrs. Hannah Owen, who died in October 1785, repose three of them—

- (3) *Mary* (Walthen), who died December 25th, 1838,
- (4) *William*, who died October 19th, 1786,
- and (6) *John-Owen*, who died a fortnight before his brother.

Joseph and Mary Beardmore died October 28th, 1829, aged 83, and December 15th, 1809, aged 59, respectively, and were also each laid to rest in the same Wesleyan tomb.

The fourth child of John and Hannah Owen—the youngest of 'the lovely family at Publow'—was *John*, the subject of this memoir. He was born in 1754, and received his early education at Cheam and

* See "*The City Chapel, London*," Stephenson, London, no date.

the Charterhouse. In 1771, on the 6th of December, he matriculated at Worcester College, Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1775, and obtaining shortly afterwards a Fellowship at New College. On taking Holy Orders he became Curate at Walthamstow. In the registers of St. Alban's, Wood Street, Cheapside, he appears as the minister at the baptism of his two elder nieces, and of one of his nephews,—children of Joseph and Mary Beardmore—

(2) Elizabeth, in 1778.

(3) Mary, in 1780.

(5) Joseph, in 1783.

During his latter years in England he was Curate of St. John's, Clerkenwell.

John Owen was fond of painting and painters, and the closest of his artistic friends was Opie, the Royal Academician, of whom he appears to have been a pupil. Shortly before he went to India, at the age of 28, Opie painted a portrait of him, which appears in the recorded works of that admirable artist.* This picture is still preserved in the Beardmore family.

When the report of Dr. James Burn's resignation† of the senior chaplaincy at the Presidency of Bengal was received at the India House, somewhere in the autumn of 1784, the Court appointed Owen to fill his place, and in the late spring of the next year, he sailed for Calcutta, arriving there in October; he found both the Presidency chaplaincies filled by local appointment—Johnson, then busily engaged in pressing forward the building of the new church, having been advanced to the senior, and Blanshard from the garrison, to the junior of the two chaplaincies at the Presidency. Owen, on arrival, wrote to the Council, claiming Johnson's place in virtue of Directors' order. The Council, however, only pigeonholed the letter for consideration, repaid Owen as had by that time become usual £100 on account of his passage,‡ and appointed him chaplain to the Garrison at Fort William. This cure he filled till the resignation of Mr. Johnson, when, on 27th February 1788, he succeeded Blanshard in the junior Presidency chaplaincy, the latter being advanced to the senior. Owen's successor in the Garrison was the Rev. David Brown, late chaplain of the third European Battalion, and the Rev. Mr. Farrier succeeded Mr. Brown.§

* See "*Opie and his Works*," by J. P. Rogers, London 1878.

† See page 174.

‡ Public Consultations, 1785, October 27th and November 3rd.

§ *Calcutta Gazette*, March 13th, 1788.

It will be here convenient to review the list of the then existing ecclesiastical establishment in Bengal—it numbered in all nine clergymen—

1. *Rev. Thomas Blanshard*—senior Presidency chaplain. Appointed March, 1774, some time chaplain of the second Brigade, then, in April 1782 he became garrison chaplain. Junior Presidency chaplain March 1784. Senior Presidency chaplain February 1788. He resigned in March 1797,* and sailed for Europe in an American ship, in which he was shipwrecked off the French coast. He is stated in Mr. Kiernander's diary to have saved no less than five lakhs of rupees during his twenty-three years' Indian Service!

2. *Rev. John Owen*—junior Presidency chaplain.

3. *Rev. David Brown*—Garrison chaplain at Fort William. Appointed Company's chaplain at the 'Orphan House,' Calcutta, 1785, arrived 8th June 1786. On 11th June appointed chaplain to the sixth Battalion and of the wards chaplain to the third Battalion at the Garrison, junior and, finally, senior Presidency chaplain and provost of Fort William College. He died June 14th, 1812. A fuller account of him must be reserved for a later chapter.

4. *Rev. Donald McKinnon, D.D.*—Chaplain of the first European Battalion. Arrived 1783; in 1788 he was at Lucknow and at Berhampore; in 1790 at Chunar and Benares as 'Acting chaplain;' in 1792 at Ghazipore; in 1797 he was holding the acting appointment of chaplain to H. M. 76th Regiment at Patna. In 1800 he was with the regiment at Allahabad.

5. *Rev. Arthur-Ackland Barbor* (Caius, Camb. B.A. 1776, M.A. 1779)—Chaplain of the second European Battalion. Arrived March 1783. Appointed apparently first to the fourth Brigade at Chunar and Benares: then 1785 or 1786 to the troops in the Vizier's country. In 1788 he was 'Field Chaplain' at Cawnpore; in 1789 at Fategarh; in 1790 to 1793 at Berhampore; 1794 and 1795 at Dinapore.

6. *Rev. Mr. Farrier*—Chaplain of the third European Battalion. His Christian name and the date of his arrival have not been discovered. He died at Berhampore on the 16th of August 1788.

7. *Rev. Robartes Carr* (son of Robert Carr of Twickenham. Matriculated 2nd February 1768, aged 19, at Worcester College, Oxford B.A. 1771)—Chaplain of the fourth European Battalion. He had been chaplain at St. Helena from October 1773 to September

* A long correspondence relating to this resignation and his consequent departure is recorded in the Consultations of the Military Department.

1781; and was appointed to the Bengal Establishment by the Court on the 12th of April 1786, being 'permitted to proceed to India free of charge to the Company.' He arrived in July 1787, and joined his Battalion at Fategarh. A singular correspondence between him and the Bengal Council exists under date of October and November 1791. It was complained against him that ten years before on quitting St. Helena he had sold a negro boy named John Richmond *alias* Cammedy as a slave for £50. Slavery was perfectly legal at the time, but it was contended that John Richmond was free-born. On the Court's representing the complaint to Mr. Carr, the latter replied from Dinapore that the boy had been given to him as a slave by his brother Captain Carr, then dead, at St. Helena, and on leaving the island in 1781 he had sold him in good faith for the sum mentioned. However, the boy's free birth being proved, Mr. Carr forwarded, through the Company, a draft for £50 to the boy's purchaser to reimburse him for the loss, as the supposed slave had been re-claimed by his parents. In 1788 he was at Barrackpore; 1789 to 1791 at Dinapore; 1792 at Cawnpore; then at Dinapore again; 1794 at Cawnpore.

8. *Rev. Charles Seacombe*—Chaplain of the fifth European Battalion circa August 1787. August 1788 allowed to officiate as chaplain to the Orphan Society. His name does not appear in a list of 1791.

9. *Rev. William Lewis* (son of William Lewis of the parish of St. John, Cardiff. Matriculated 30th of May 1770, aged 17, at Jesus, Oxford; B.A. 1777, M.A. 1779)—Chaplain of the sixth European Battalion. He was appointed in London in 1780. The approbation of his appointment by the Archbishop of Canterbury appears in the Act Book of the Archdiocese at Lambeth in the form following:—

1780 November 27. William Lewis, clerk, being appointed by the East India Company a chaplain to the 3rd Brigade of their forces in Bengal requested his Grace's approbation of his going thither in that capacity and was accordingly approved of by his Grace who signed the usual endorsement on his warrant. So I attest.—*William Dickes*.

In 1783 he was at Berhampore; in 1787-1788 at Dinapore and at Monghyr; 1789 at Cawnpore; 1790 at Barrackpore; 1792-1793 at Chunar; 1794 at Cawnpore and at Lucknow; 1796-1797 at Dinapore; 1797 to 1800 at Cawnpore.

The following letter (now much mutilated) was addressed by the Rev. John Owen to one of his sisters,—apparently Mrs. Ford,—while he was chaplain to the Fort William Garrison. Enough has been previously said to introduce the persons mentioned in this and the letter next to follow and to explain the allusions.

Calcutta, April, 1786.

On my father's death.

My dear Sister, I am highly sensible of your kindness in writing to me by the *Swallow*, altho' of all the melancholy news I ever heard, that distressed me most. When I heard of the death of our poor mother* it was what I expected. Life had long ceased to be desirable with her and death was a release. But why should I draw your mind to distress which I hope when you receive this, time will in some sort have mitigated. It is my business rather to exhort you to address yourself to the duties of life and to wait in cheerful acquiescence till you also are called. The education of your children will afford you the most useful and delightful exercise that can be assigned to a widow. If you are the instrument of breeding up two virtuous and well informed persons in the world society may rejoice that you were born. I hope they will be obedient to you in all things and that in educating them you will rather follow your own good sense than the silly advice of many good people who have much zeal but understandings too confined to take in so extensive a subject. You cannot wish more to see them religious than I do. I should abhor for them all manner of dancing and public places as much as you would. There is however some caution between too little exhortation and too much. In the first case they are without discipline and stated periods of devotion; in the latter case they will be hypocrites and contract the habit of kneeling with a dissipated mind. Keep them to their French and their music and some drawing if they like it or embroidery. If they like the former I would not employ them in the latter. Make them read much to you: there is more instruction in Hume's History of England both for old and young than in any other, and the history of our own country is the most important. Your sister will learn them fine work and some geography. Question them continually and explain little matters. Let them learn passages out of Enfield's Speaker and pronounce them with proper emphasis and gesture. Let them likewise compose something once a week or fortnight. Give them a moral sentence and a story. Let them embellish the story and tell it as they can on paper. Without this you cannot obtain one end of reading which is a good stile. . . . God bless you and yours: my sincerest love to poor Bess† who I suppose is with (you) and to little Bess‡ who I fancy much in my own mind. Tell me in your next the date of your children's age. My health is much as usual and I hope will admit of my rubbing on for the period mentioned.§ You may rest assured that there is not the most distant probability of my staying beyond that period. We shall have a ship sail from hence about in August—The Swallow.

This letter interestingly illustrates the writer's ideas on the subjects of Christian piety and the education of children. The same subjects are discussed in another letter of which only a fragment remains. He is writing to one of his sisters about the bringing up of his nieces:—

Music is preferable to drawing for drawing can only amuse themselves and music will both amuse them and their friends. Your sister desires that if she

* Hannah, widow of Joan Owen the elder, died in October 1785.

† His sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Pino.

‡ His niece, Mrs. Beardmore's daughter.

§ In the lost portions of the letter.

should die I will not suffer them to go to balls or plays or places of public entertainment. God forbid that any part of the care of them should so devolve upon me: but she may rest assured that if I had girls of my own they should not be taught to dance nor should I ever suffer them to enter the doors of a public place. A parent certainly has a right to testamentary regulations with the guardian for the children's education, and the guardian is bound to follow them at least in all cases that do not oppose his conscience. Now I believe no body would say that it is a point of conscience to carry a girl to balls and public entertainments. It would be with me a point of conscience to keep them from such places. Yet do not you judge the world too hardly and think there is no religion in people who go to these places. Remember God's answer to the prophet who could not find an upright man in all his nation *Yet have I &c.* The scale of a Methodist is very excellent and very high. You know yourself how few act on that high and excellent scale. Inconsistency is one of the sure properties of a human creature and as there are very few Methodists so pure as a thoughtful and good person who goes to church might expect, so are there very few of those who appear to be 'without' so thoughtless or profane as a Methodist might expect. You know little of the variety of sincere opinions which are formed by men, arising from all the varieties of their education, their age, their information, or their natural understanding. Remember that to their own master they shall stand or fall. It is one of the misfortunes which attend those who have judged themselves severely that they are apt also to be severe with others and that when they feel their own conscience evil they suppose others are guilty. . . .

The next letter was written a month previous to Owen's appointment to the 'presidency,' and is addressed to his brother-in-law, Mr. Beardmore. Though equally devout in tone with the foregoing it has chief reference to matters of temporal prudence:—

Calcutta, January, 30th, 1788.

My dear Beardmore, It is long since I have heard from any of you although we have been daily expecting a packet to arrive. The uncertain state of things in Europe has occasioned much delay in the vessels sailing but I hope everything is quiet and that we shall all soon have good news from our friends. I have not written many letters by the ships of this season, but you must tell any one who talks about letters from me that I shall write to them by the next ship. Bondfield died about a fortnight ago. I had received no money for the things he had sold from the ships of last season; the papers I have put into Mr. Edwards' hands (Mr. Pugh's relation) and desired him to receive the money for what was sold and take charge of the rest, mention this to Mrs. Ford. You must for the present give me credit for my account with you. I wrote to you about two quarters' salary due to me from the churchwarden of St. John's, Mr. Fackney who lives in St. John's Square. I always gave him a receipt which was written in a book. Of this I gave you charge when I left your house, he has since I hear broke. Have you got my gown from Mr. Greaves undertaker in Red Lion Street the parish clerk? Mr. Roop my successor at St. John's has I hear left you what was due of the current quarter when I left England. I wait with much anxiety to

hear the result of your matters with Mr. Gosling,* write to me from time to time in what sort of train that business is. By this time I hope you and Mrs. Beardmore have recovered from the great affliction of the children's death.† Time alone in these cases can bring effectual comfort. We hold every good thing in life as tenants at will to our great Master. He is without caprice, whether he gives or takes away it is done in wisdom, and ours it is to say "Blessed be the Name of the Lord." If you have lost some money remember a man's life either in its existence or happiness, consists not in the abundance of the things that he possesses. You are happier by going on in your business than you could be by quitting it, your children would be none the likelier to be good or happy by setting out with large fortunes and the most important things to the comfort of us all are such as money cannot purchase. I am in the same situation I was before,—as comfortable a one as this climate admits of. I see none but the first company and I have everything the East can afford. My health which during the last summer and most of the present winter was very bad is now considerably better.

I have no means of making money which I chuse to adopt beside the savings of my salary which would be rather longer than I shall wait for before seven times poor Besses‡ fortune could be the result; a sum which you very good naturedly wish me. I rejoice much that Bess has enough to subsist on comfortably, but I am distressed beyond measure that you have no longer an opportunity of educating your girls to advantage.

Common boarding schools are dreadful places for girls. Is it impossible for Bess to look to them? I can suggest nothing at this distance but I am sadly afraid that little Bessy and Mary§ will be great sufferers by their Aunt|| leaving Highgate. Mrs. Ford¶ tells me that little Betty is as sharp as a needle, I am extremely glad of it. I hope all your children will be a comfort to you. Do not spare a little money in educating as well as may be. The money increased a thousand-fold would not benefit them the thousandth part so much when they grow up. I wish you all possible prosperity, your wife I doubt not will seek your happiness in everything. Be thankful for life and consider how small a part of mankind have so many sources of pleasure as yourself. It is my earnest wish and desire that you may live in harmony with every part of the family. I am the friend of you all and God knows I see no reason for any of you to be dissatisfied with another. As for money we shall all have enough if it please God to spare us. Whatever I have shall undoubtedly belong to you all** at all times; for your ease and comfort is mine. There was very much good nature in your conduct to G. but there was likewise imprudence. Be therefore cautious as well as kind. If you live you can make up the losses. Should I survive you I shall hold myself to be the father of your children as far as my pittance or care can extend. Be prudent, everything turns on prudence with a man who

* By this man's bankruptcy Beardmore had heavily lost.

† William and John Owen.

‡ His eldest sister, Mrs. Pine.

§ His two oldest nieces, whom he had baptized.

|| Probably Mrs. Pine.

¶ His sister Hannah-Frances.

** He was as good as his word.

is once set agoing, but at the same time be anxious for nothing, every thing will arrange itself. The whole of life's experience evidences that we might at least have spared our anxiety. God bless you, paper is out and packets closing.

Love to your wife.

Yours sincerely,

J. O.

The Mr. Bondfield (William Bonfield) mentioned in the beginning of this letter was evidently Beardmore's Calcutta agent. He was a leading auctioneer in the town. In a later letter, March 10th, 1789, he says:—

Bondfield's affairs, I believe, are desperate: everything by him was managed with infinite confusion and except the bond-creditors there will be no one paid. Send me a power of attorney that I may act or get another to act in your name. I told you I would be answerable for the money to you, *but I cannot appear to act for myself*. I have desired a power of attorney from Mr. Ford's executors likewise. Mind and send me the power of attorney *for I would much sooner lose the whole than have my name in this place set down to buying or [selling] merchandize*.

The sentiments here and in the previous letter italicised exhibit this good man's scruples on the propriety of trading by clergymen; and also, what is still more interesting, witness to a tendency of public opinion in the same direction of disapproval.

At a later time he spoke as follows:—

*No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life that he may please Him Who hath chosen him to be a soldier.** Some who once engaged in the same cause, unfortunately desiring to be rich fell into 'temptation and a snare.' I know two missionaries of excellent learning, and in other respects of unexceptionable character, who were drawn aside by the suggestions of interested natives into such vexations as ended only with their lives. In the last as elsewhere, there is lawful gain for various professions; but surely those should have known that to a clergyman who finds food and raiment in his profession, there can be no lawful gain out of it.*

Respecting his temporal affairs Owen writes on August 28th, 1787:—

Nothing can be more desirable than my situation here, I have everything the country can afford. I am at small expense and therefore I save money: but except myself I don't see how one of the Army chaplains could lay by £150 sterling in a year. It is stark beggary with all of our order who lodge and board themselves. £40 a month (a chaplain's allowance) can keep no man in this country like a gentleman. He might live better in London for £80 a year than he can for his whole income here. If I come home after several years with enough to buy a small annuity to keep body and soul together I am satisfied. But I wish

* Charge from the Chair.' S. P. C. K., 1797.

no one belonging to me may ever put his foot in India. I have had my health very ill this summer for several months, and I am at present afflicted with an ague which has extremely reduced me.

It is evident that Religion in Calcutta profited much by the ministry of Owen. He brought a new influence with him, that of Wesleyan piety drawn from its fountain head. Of his actual ministry among his own people little or nothing can be traced, and it is strange that his letters help us not in the smallest degree in the enquiry. Ample evidence, however, exists of his sympathy with the natives and of his concern for their welfare, spiritual, intellectual and bodily. His concern for the welfare of the local mission of the S. P. C. K.—a society to which he was a regular subscriber, and his published Charge to the missionaries who were at a later time to re-enforce it, illustrate his missionary sympathies. His efforts to induce Government to establish schools for their education in English civilization is a proof of his concern for their intellectual and moral betterment, while the noble hospital, still existing, of which he was the original, though apparently forgotten promoter, testifies to his solicitude to succour their temporal distresses.

In David Brown, the Garrison chaplain, he found one likeminded with himself. The cause of the local mission in 1788 needed all the help they could give it. Mr. Kiernander, the aged S. P. C. K. missionary, whose labours in India had been earnest and unremitting since 1740, became bankrupt in October 1787, through the folly and extravagance of his son; and as the whole mission property, comprising the church, school house, parsonage and a cemetery stood in Mr. Kiernander's name, they were sold by auction as part of his effects. Owen and Brown both wrote to the Society upon the state of affairs, and their accounts are to be found condensed in the S. P. C. K. Report for the year 1788 as follows:—

By accounts received from Calcutta it appears that the Rev. Mr. Kiernander from age, infirmities and distresses has been obliged to relinquish the service of the Mission and transfer the property of the Mission Church, School and Burying ground to the Rev. Mr. David Brown, William Chambers, Esq., and Charles Grant, Esq. who had provided for the usual duty of the English and Portuguese service, till such time as proper measures could be taken by the Society to send out a new missionary.

The Rev. Mr. John Owen Chaplain of the Presidency of Bengal, in a letter dated Calcutta March 8, 1788, mentions that the Rev. Mr. Brown who had lately become connected with the Mission Church built by Mr. Kiernander was a gentleman in every respect worthy of trust and that in his letters an ample account of any things relating to the mission would be given. . . .

The Rev. Mr. David Brown in a letter dated at Calcutta March 6, 1788, mentions that on the transfer of Mr. Owen from the Garrison of Fort William to the Chaplaincy of the Presidency he had been appointed to succeed him at the Fort.

His observations respecting the Calcutta Mission are less flattering and he mentions that with the sole view of procuring a foundation for a Mission, Messrs. Chambers and Grant had united with him and purchased of Mr. Kiernander the Mission Church, School and Burial ground.

The Rev. David Brown, Wm. Chambers and Charles Grant, Esq., in a joint letter dated Calcutta March 7, 1788, think it necessary to inform the Society of some particulars respecting the Bengal Mission and of the part they have taken 'in order to prevent its total subversion they mention that on the 31st October 1787 they had purchased the Church, School and Burial ground for the sole purposes of religion,' and they hope that this act will be approved by the Society and that the Society will enable them to fix a Missionary in a situation so desirable and promising.

After some deliberation the Society selected, on the recommendation of the Bishop of Lincoln,* the Rev. *Abraham Thomas Clarke, B.A.* (1779), of Trinity College, Cambridge, to be Mr. Kiernander's successor. He then served a cure in Lincolnshire, and being found willing to undertake the ministry and being approved by the Archbishop, the East India Company gave him a free passago to Calcutta on the *Houghton*, Indiaman.

The Rev. Dr. Finch, Prebendary of Westminster, delivered a Charge to Mr. Clarke, which is given in full in the Report, as also the latter's reply:—

Mr. Clarke received letters of introduction and recommendation to the Society's worthy correspondents in Calcutta, and to the venerable missionaries on the coast; and the *Houghton* with him on Board sailed in the month of April.

The report of the following year relates that Mr. Clarke reached Calcutta on the 9th of November 1789, and "was received with much cordiality and affection." Mr. Clarke was thus the first Englishman who ever came as a missionary to Bengal.† Mr. Kiernander indeed was an emissary of the Church of England, and like Mr. Clarke under the patronage of the S. P. C. K., but he was by birth a Swede.

By the 9th of December 1789, Mr. Clarke had entered on his charge at Beth-Tephillah, the mission church, and a Sunday evening lecture which he instituted there,—wholly a novelty in Calcutta, was well received. The Society reports upon this effort that it considered it to be:—

An object of real importance as it accommodated a numerous body of the lower classes of Europeans whom the climate prevented from appearing in Church in

* 'Memorial sketches of David Brown,' p. 288.

† Dr. William Carey, claimed by the Baptists, as the pioneer of English missionaries in India did not arrive until November 12th 1793.

the day time without the aid of Palinkeens which most of them were unable to keep.

On the 13th of February 1790, Mr. Clarke wrote alluding to this evening service and to the *Free School* then just open (as distinct from the *Charity School*). He complains of ill-health and of the hindrance he thereby sustained in his study of Portuguese. He begs for the help of a brother missionary that he might have larger leisure for study, and especially for learning Sanscrit.

Thus for a time Owen and Brown saw the missionary cause rehabilitated in Calcutta.

Returning now to Mr. Owen's more immediate concerns and to the year 1788, and omitting the affairs of the charity school with which the vestry was at this time much occupied, as these must be reserved for a future chapter. The minutes of the vestry of October 7th mention that the new organ had at last arrived from England and with it an organist, *Mr. John Welsh*, who was taken upon the church establishment at Rs. 150 a month. The minutes of the Court of Directors contain some information both about the instrument and Mr. Welsh. We learn that the Company paid £633-16-0 to *Messrs. Robert and William Gray* for it, and that it was shipped to Calcutta freight free on board the *C. S. William Pitt*.* The following relates to the gentleman who obtained the organistship:--

1788 *January 23*. On reading several requests, Ordered that Mr. John Welsh be permitted to proceed to Bengal to practise there in his profession as a musician and that he be allowed the sum of £50 on condition of his attending to the proper packing up the Organ intended for the church at Calcutta and to see the same put up in the church.

This organ had about 1,400 pipes, but many of them were useless as the bellows had not wind enough to sound them. Plainly it was not built for the climate, nor adapted to the risks incidental to the country, for it had scarcely been erected one cold weather when, on the 13th of April 1789, the organist reported it to be in a perishing condition. Rupees 1,800 per annum, however, had been budgetted for its tuning and repair,—an allowance which was drawn by the organist.† It was patched up; yet on the 5th of April of the following year it is reported as seriously damaged by white ants, and that adequate repairs would cost S. Rs. 3,000, for not a single stop was in proper order—repairs which were not carried out until two years later.

The organ seems to have been from the first a most troublesome and expensive instrument to keep up. The minutes are full of letters and

* Court's Minutes, India Office, 1788, January 9th, January 30th, and February 25th.

† Vestry Minutes, 1789, pp. 197 and 205.

orders respecting it.* In 1789 the Vestry spent S. R. 422 upon it for tuning and repairs. Early in the next year it was reported not to have a single stop in proper order, and this time S. R. 3,000 were spent upon it. This seems to have fortified it, with the help of regular tuning for the next dozen years. In 1804 it was proposed again to spend S. R. 3,000 on the instrument. But this was not half enough. The repairs were begun and seem to have gone on for nearly four years, and in all S. R. 7,000 were expended. It is very curious to peruse the records of the progress of this repair and the bills for materials. The metal of the great gilded pipes was so bad that some of them in the course of 16 years had sunk down 10 inches within themselves. One of the principal difficulties of the time was the procuring of suitable leather for the renewing of the bellows, and hingeing and silencing the mechanical action, and many imported articles of personal clothing, made up out of soft leather, had to be purchased and quantities of kid gloves to be cut up for the purpose. About 30 bottles of gin had to be used in boiling the glue. The renewal was evidently very thorough, but in 1812 over S. R. 1,500 had to be spent in further repairs and another 1,000 the year following. All these sums were refunded to the Calcutta Vestry by Government, but then the Court began to object to this being done any more, and in 1815 wrote out stating that in future expenditure should be defrayed by local subscription.

In April 1794 Mr. Welsh resigned into the hands of the Governor-General in Council his office as organist. His successor in the appointment was Mr. Charles Ladd, who before his arrival had officiated in that capacity at St. John's.

Again returning to the main story and the year 1788, our attention is next claimed by an admirable effort promoted by Mr. Owen to secure Government English schools for the native population. All the chaplains then stationed in Calcutta signed it—it is here given in full.

It is addressed to the Governor General in Council:—

My Lord, As ministers of the Religion of Truth, bound to promote the knowledge and the practice of virtue among men, we have thought it our duty to address your Lordship with a few considerations to that end.

More than twenty years are now elapsed since several extraordinary occurrences gave the entire Dominion of three large provinces, and their numerous inhabitants to Great Britain. Many millions of people depraved by despotism and idolatry are become the subjects of a nation enlightened and exalted by science, by liberty and religion. However necessary the conduct of their former masters rendered it for us to take charge of this people, it is certain Great Britain seeks

* e.g. V.M. 1790, pp. 222-3: a list of the stops is given on page 229 of the minutes.

something beyond her commercial or military aggrandizement in the sway she exercises over them. Her own immediate interest would be an unworthy end when the welfare of myriads is entrusted to her. The object of all just Government is the happiness of those who are subjected to it. Some inconvenience the inhabitants of these provinces must inevitably suffer from subjection to a distant people: but they may be abundantly compensated by enlightening their minds and communicating to them such knowledge as they could have obtained by no other means.

The progress of this would likewise remove some of those inconveniences, and greatly alleviate others. In the early period of our Dominion much could not be expected to this end; the whole business was strange, and the minds of men occupied by what was most urgent. Times of public calamity or of war have since likewise called the attention of men in power another way. It is from your Lordship, whether we consider your personal character or the circumstances in which you have been sent to govern those provinces, that every well disposed Briton hopes for the foundation of so good a work. Amidst the foremost inconveniences the people endure in their subjection to us, we may reckon their ignorance of the language of those who govern them. From this circumstance, the objects, the manners, and maxims of Englishmen, are very imperfectly comprehended by them, and the difficulty of removing their prejudices in every way increased. They who come early in life into this country, acquire but to a small extent the language that is most common, and they who come at a more mature age, give over the task in despair. It is by means of the English language alone that the people could in their own persons with speed and certainty prefer their complaints without trusting their interests to papers and petitions in a tongue where the ignorance or knavery of an agent so often sets down the opposite of his instructions. The Mahomedans introduced their language with their conquest, and they felt the benefit of it, not only in the immediate intercourse it afforded them with the natives, but as it became the medium of Public Business and of Records. It would be needless to recount in how many forms the use of our Language would prove a bond of Union; no one can judge better than your Lordship of the various political benefits which would arise from it. It has been our wish to address you on the subject with a more immediate view to their moral and religious improvement.

With whatever partiality the character of this people may have been viewed from a distance, their total want of morals has not been unobserved by those who approach them. They who have been much among them, and who have been otherwise best qualified to judge, speak of them with abhorrence. The most detestable vices are practised by them without remorse, and displayed without shame. Our Courts of Justice afford sad proof on what slender temptation they will violate the most sacred obligation of an oath, though administered with the solemnities of their own religion. Indeed there seems no precept of the Law of nature so universal in its obligation or so important in its consequences as to be heeded by men who have substituted the ceremonies of their religion for the practice of morals, who like some mentioned in the Scripture *Render void the law of God by their traditions: making clean the outside while within they are full of uncleanness.* The character of the people in their need of instruction is not to be estimated from a few studious and recluse men among them, or from the truths which may

be occasionally found in their writings. The herd are depraved, and seem to be wholly destitute of moral instruction. They behold their priests performing rites and offering sacrifices, but hear not from their mouths, *Thou shalt not steal* *Thou shalt not bear false witness*. What the parents have not heard the children have not been taught, and there is great reason to believe that no moral principle whatever is considered by them as a part of education. The mummery of superstition and enthusiasm of idolatry they catch from example, but of truth and integrity they are without examples.

From the consideration of these things it appears to us that the institution of Public Schools in proper situations for the purpose of teaching our language to the natives of these provinces would be ultimately attended with the happiest effects. The great desire they have of learning it in the neighbourhood of Fort William is well known, and were the means more easy, there is reason to suppose they would not be less so in more distant places. The desirable effects we have pointed out might indeed be slow and silent, but they would in all probability be extensive and permanent. Literal versions of one or more of the Gospels, with the English in an opposite column, would serve at once to facilitate the acquisition of our language and evidence to them the simplicity of our religion. Moral tracts accommodated to their habits of thinking might be printed in the same form; and thus by the easiest and gentlest means, the beneficence of Great Britain would acquire a more glorious Empire over a benighted people than conquest has ever yet bestowed. The choice of proper persons to be at the head of each of these schools could perhaps rest nowhere so advantageously as with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, of Litchfield and Coventry: and their well-known zeal to diffuse Religious Knowledge, afford abundant security that the Trust would be faithfully executed. Of the liberality of the Court of Directors we can entertain no doubt. We have seen them very largely endowing an Institution for the Study of the Arabic language.* Nor is this the only instance in which that Honourable Court have sought to promote knowledge; we have not therefore the smallest doubt of their charitable efforts where the object is so noble and so comprehensive. All civilized Governments have considered a provision for the instruction of the people as a necessary part of the expenses of the State. The Hindoos, although the end was not answered, have been profuse in this respect, and were part only of what has been collusively obtained under such pretexs, resumed, it would suffice for the most beneficial Establishments.

The Mahomedans during their Government afforded likewise ample Endowments for learning and its Professors; while the country under the Rule of Christians has seen no Institution for the purest Religion upon earth. We enter not on the minuter parts of the arrangement we have proposed.

Your Lordship will best understand how the expense may sit most lightly. We wish however that the salary annex to the office of schoolmaster may be so moderate as rather to give occasion of zeal than avarice in those who undertake it. We wish not to intrude further on your Lordship, persuaded as we are that

* The reference seems to be to the Madrassa founded by Governor-General Warren Hastings in 1780. To this Government had assigned lands estimated to produce in rents Rs. 29,000 a year.

no man can have greater zeal for the Welfare of this People or the Honour of the British Nation than yourself. Should what we have held ourselves bound to suggest be fortunate enough in any form to obtain your Lordship's Patronage, we augur Good of the Event, and rejoice in foreseeing your Name placed high in the immortal list of Benefactors to the human race.

We have the Honour to be with the highest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servants

	THOS. BLANSHARD,	} <i>Chaplains</i>
	JOHN OWEN,		to the Presidency.
<i>Calcutta, 20th June 1788.</i>	ROBARTES CAER,	<i>Chap. to the 4th Brigade.</i>
	DAVID BROWN,	<i>Chap. to the Garrison of Fort William.</i>

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL CORNWALLIS,
GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL.

This letter* was mainly framed by the Rev. David Brown and was intended to prepare the way for the introduction of an extended missionary scheme. Mr. Brown writes of it:—

We thought it needful imprudence to approach his Lordship by very gentle gradations, and therefore pressed the idea of native schools as preparatory to the main business of giving Christian light to this land sitting in heathen darkness.

Of the result of the enlightened proposals contained in the Chaplains' Memorial—so far in advance of their day—nothing whatever has yet been traced. Mr. Owen alludes to it in a note to 'a charge delivered from the Chair' to two S. P. C. K. missionaries in 1797, but does not say how it was received by Government. Mr. Brown writes of the interview at which the memorial was presented—'It does not seem his Lordship is disposed to forward our wishes.' Indeed, it appears to have been quite overlooked even by the writers on Education in British India.†

Save that it wisely advocates the necessity of inculcating morals by means alone of the documents and traditions of the Christian religion, it forestalls alike the general principles of the State Education clause of the Company's renewed Charter of 1813, and the mature conclusions enacted, in consequence of Mr. Macaulay's famous minute by the Indian Government in 1835—an enactment which closed the controversy of many years between the Orientalists and Anglicists on the Committee of Education in favour of the views of the latter and

* *Vide* Memorial sketches of the Rev. David Brown by Chas. Simeon, London, 1816, p. 248.

† e.g. C. E. Trevelyan on the *Education of the People of India*. London, 1838, and A. Howell *Education in British India*, Calcutta, 1872.

so of "imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language." The Court of Directors confirmed this policy by its despatch of July 19th, 1854, and it has since, under the Education Department, remained practically unchanged.

Another and very singular token that Mr. Owen was in many ways in advance of the average thought of his time is found in a memorandum recorded in the vestry minutes, under date of April 7th, 1789, to the effect that he wholly disapproved of *pew rents*, *fixed marriage fees*, and of *any christening fees*!

The general orders published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 11th August 1788 contain a decree affecting the status of the Company's chaplains which has remained in force ever since. They are now in all cantonments and garrisons, chaplains of the stations, not of special regiments.

In future the Chaplains of the army are not to be considered as belonging to specific Battalions, but are to be employed without any alteration in their present allowances in such manner and in such stations as shall be thought most useful for the service by the Commander-in-Chief. The Chaplains attached to European Battalions are to be struck off the strength of those corps, but are to remain at their present stations till further orders.

This was followed in a few weeks time by another notification in the *Gazette* of September 4th:—

The following arrangement of Chaplains is ordered to take place: Rev. Mr. Carr, *Barrackpore*: Mr. Limrick, *Dinapore*: Mr. Lewis, *Ohunar*: but to remain at Dinapore until relieved by Mr. Limrick.

A new name is here introduced, that of Mr. Limrick, with whom we shall be concerned later.

A further order was issued relative to the duties of chaplains near the close of the year:—

The Governor-General in Council orders that no Military Chaplain may do occasional duty within the limits belonging to the presidency chaplains without their leave.*

We have met before regulations similar to this last. Their bearing it is difficult to understand.

The ensuing cold weather brought two new chaplains to Bengal. On the 28th October 1788 the *Rev. Paul Limrick* officially reported his arrival; his approbation by the Archbishop is dated February 18th, 1788. On the 6th February 1789 the Council ordered Captain

* Pub. Consultations of date, and V. M., p. 181.

Agnew to be paid £100 for the passage of this gentleman—he declaring himself pleased with his treatment during the voyage.* Mr. Limrick was a scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, 1773. He graduated B.A. in 1775 and M.A. in 1782, in which year he married a Miss Margaret Law who accompanied him to India. She died in 1841.

On the 8th of November in the same year 1788, the *C. S. Dublin* landed the *Rev. John Loftie, M.A.*, Vicar of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury,—a preferment which he retained in conjunction with his chaplaincy,—and with him were his two daughters, Mary and Charlotte.† Apparently his arrival was not officially reported until the 26th of the month, while his passage was paid for, £100, on the same day and on the same declaration as Mr. Limrick's. The Archbishop had approved his appointment on the 14th of July 1787.§

Thus by the close of 1788 six *quasi*-district parishes, answering to the stations of the six battalions, were established in Bengal beyond the limits of Calcutta. A table of the whole ecclesiastical establishment showing the succession of the Incumbents of the several stations from this date to 1800 will be found in Appendix E.

* Act Book of 1788, No. 12 at Lambeth. Pub Cons. Feb. 6th, 1789.

† Entitled 'Rector' by mistake on his daughter's tomb-stone. He was probably the son of William Loftie, whose will was proved at Canterbury, 7th Nov. 1778. He was inducted into the vicarage of St. Dunstan's on June 27th, 1767, where he ceased to officiate in March 1788.

‡ Charlotte died at Calcutta Feb. 1st, 1779; aged 18. Mary in 1789 became the wife of John Garstin, Engineer, afterwards Major-General and Company's Surveyor-General. She died July 28th, 1811; aged 42, leaving seven children. *Vide* Epitaph in Park Street South Cemetery. On the death of Charlotte Loftie the following appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* (Feb. 5th)—

At morn fair Stella danc'd and sung,
The amorous youth around her bow'd.
At night her fatal knell was rung,
I saw and kiss'd her in her shroud.
What Stella was who danc'd today,
That I may be, alas! tomorrow.
Go Damon! bid thy muse display,
The justice of thy Chloe's sorrow.

Her death is not recorded in the parish register.

§ Act Book as before, p. 153, and P. C. as before.

CHAPTER XVII.

1789 to 1794.

THE following letter addressed by Owen to his brother-in-law Beardmore in the next year is a model of common sense, but no less testimonial of the writer's devout temper of mind than those that have been given in the last chapter:—

August 17, 1789, Calcutta.

My dear Sir, I received your letter and the books. Your letter to Col. Hardy on many accounts I did not send. It must certainly appear a great piece of impertinence for a stranger to trouble a man with a long account how he has been swindled out of five thousand pounds. You will find people full as much disposed to laugh at the man who suffered himself to be wheedled as to execrate those who so wheedled him. The best thing in those businesses is silence. A friend will sympathize but what do the world care whether a man be a few thousands the richer or the poorer. Whatever you relate to me on these subjects is acceptable, but I never wish to see you let yourself down by relating them to others. By this time I hope your mind is composed after the great agitation it has experienced from such a loss through such a business. We must resign ourselves and our fortunes into the hands of God. You will probably in the event see that the villainy of those people has worked good for you, but whether you see it or not be assured such is the case. Almost all the benefits I have received in life have originated in apparent misfortune. I grieved because I could not see that God Almighty was ordaining good for me. You have domestic happiness, you have bread to put into the mouths of your wife and children and you have health, this is enough for man. If it should please God to take you and your means fall short, while I have my small portion of bread your wife and children shall more than divide it with me. Be easy, be thankful, human life does not admit of many persons enjoying the benefits you enjoy. I rejoice to hear from my sisters that your wife's behaviour in your troubles has been just what it should be, and that she is diligent in educating your children and setting them a fit example. I rejoice to hear that your children are apt to learn and that they are obedient. Do not spare what expense may be necessary in their education you will never bestow anything on them that will be equally beneficial. There early youth is a very important period in education, it will never hurt their health to begin early and it will greatly benefit their minds which will thereby become pliant and quick to receive impressions. Most of the ships of the season are arrived and I have only received one letter from you. I take great interest in all that concerns you and no one has more earnest wishes for your prosperity. I have enclosed a letter for a brother of Mr. Bondfield's who lives at Bordeaux; he desired to know of me if there were any money forthcoming. I believe the book creditors will not receive the dividend of a penny. I hear nothing from Tuffen, he has been grievously taken

up with the cares of this world, and has no thought for his friends. Mrs. Ford* tells me your brother William is in a bad state of health. How do you go on in your manufacture without him. There is one thing I would direct your attention to as a *Principle* in commercial life. Beware how you put it in any man's power to bind you by his signature. Partnerships are extremely hazardous, either party is at the mercy of the other, and yet it is necessary to sharpen the attentions of those who serve you by enabling them in the detail of every particular act to serve themselves also. If you have a head man at the manufactory, besides wages let him have a small percentage on the neat profits of the business, or a percentage at any intermediate stage as may serve best to sharpen his industry. If you and he see fit let him be without wages and trust wholly to his exertions in the increase of the business, or in the savings of the manufactory.

No man can adjust the minute parts of such an arrangement who has not himself the largest concern in it. It is the principle only that I dwell on. Wages alone will not make men who are distant from their master's eye, sufficiently active. Then only when a man knows that part of every sixpence he gets or saves is to be his, will he exert himself to get or save the sixpence.

Let me hear what little news of our acquaintance you can pick up. We have all public news here. There is nothing new that relates to this country, the papers will give you as much as I can. My health has been much as usual. Perpetual languor is inseparable from the climate. I bear my position as I can. I am extremely weary but till the period I have already mentioned I cannot change and beyond that I purpose not to continue.

I desired Opie to send you a few small brushes for me: put them up in a letter and send them. You will be kind enough to pay what may be demanded for them on my account. Remember to send them by the first ship. With the sincerest regard and best wishes I am your most obedient and faithful servant.
—J. OWEN.

I have desired Opie to order some little brushes in quills to your house; they are to be packed in a letter either by the oilman or you and sent by the first ship.

[*Addressed to Mr. Beardmore, Milk Street, Cheapside per 'Swallow' Packet.*]

Owen, despite his preference to music over painting and drawing as an accomplishment for his nieces, was himself an artist with the brush. His letters from India contain many references to his friend Opie and many commissions to Mr. Beardmore for brushes and colours. Drawings by him still exist. The disgust with the Calcutta climate and life alluded to in this and earlier letters is expressed more forcibly in a letter written on the 12th August 1791:—

I know not yet if the loss I mentioned to you will keep me here a twelve month longer than I intended. I am heartily weary of this country: nor have I known any pleasure in my existence since I have been here.

The vestry minutes for the year 1789 contain several items of interest, beside Owen's protest against church fees and pew rents

* His sister Hannah-Frances.

already mentioned. On the 13th of April Mrs. Eliza Fay, the authoress of *Original Letters from India*, appears as representing to the vestry that four years before she had purchased the house at the south-west corner of the old burial-ground, which house, she says, was formerly the post-office,* and complaining that the new boundary wall blocked the light from her lower windows. The vestry agreed to take down the wall and substitute a railing at Mrs. Fay's expense. The house still stands, but both wall and railing are gone, and the indulgence thus conceded a century ago to Mrs. Fay has issued in a long continued and yet unfinished correspondence in connexion with the house, and certain rights claimed by its proprietors.

Up to the 13th of October, the church and its compound presented a very unfinished appearance, which the vestry regret: but the works were still in the charge of the Building Committee, who, however, finally made over possession of the whole to the select vestry on the 4th of December. The works yet remaining to be done were estimated in the following January as to cost Rs. 5,600, to help to meet which the Government gave Rs. 4,000. At this time it was customary for the vestry to meet all church expenses, including salaries of establishment, from the charity fund, and from time to time Government refunded the expenditure.† The cost of the establishment was then estimated as S. Rs. 6,180 a year.

At the end of the year it was resolved that a ring of six bells should be obtained from England as the steeple was furnished with but one 'ship-bell.' The bells never came. On St. Thomas's Day, December 21st, 1789, the vestry founded "the Free School Society of Bengal," an account of which is deferred to a later chapter.

In spite of the fine new church and revived church organization, it is to be feared that religious indifference was even increasing in the settlement, for a writer in a public print of 1790‡ states that half a dozen palkis sufficed to convey the entire congregation to the new church on Sundays, and that during the Durga poojas those who did frequent divine worship would not hesitate to go thence straight to a nautch. From the allusion to the poojas it is plain that the writer is thinking mainly of a hot weather state of things when there appears to have been but one service on the Sunday—in the morning of course, and no punkhas in the church. The next year, however, matters were surely better, as it was found needful to erect in the compound sheds for both palkis and carriages.

* This is apparently the only indication of its locality that has yet come to light.

† V.M. 1789-90, pp. 202, 205, 208, 210, 217.

‡ Quoted by Long, *Calcutta Review*, xxxv, p. 204, Sept. 1860.

Mr. Owen complained that sometimes he has had to solemnize marriage at less than an hour's notice. He remarks that in England he had usually found the Church Register, as was evidently then the ill custom in Calcutta, kept at the clergyman's house.*

It is not to be supposed from the allusion to *one* service, for which Mr. Long vouches, but that during the moderate and cool weather evensong was regularly said on Sunday afternoons. In the cold weather of the next year 1791, the use of the church was allowed to the Rev. Abraham-Thomas Clarke, the S. P. C. K. missionary, on Sunday evenings, for preaching a lecture, which seems to have continued for some time with success. Evidently his evening congregation had overflowed the mission church.

A new chaplain was at this time appointed upon the establishment—the *Rev. Thomas Clarke*—according to the following minutes of the Court of Directors:—

1790 Jan. 27. On a motion, Resolved that the chairman "[William Devaynes] be complimented with the nomination of a chaplain for Bengal."

1790 April 13. Resolved that the *Rev. Thomas Clark* be appointed a chaplain on his producing the proper testimonials, he being nominated for that appointment by the chairman pursuant to Order of Court of the 27 January last.

1791 Jan. 26. The *Rev. Thomas Clark* appointed a chaplain for Bengal being introduced to the Court and delivering in the proper certificate from the Bishop of London. Mr. Clark was sworn in accordingly. Granted £100 for fresh provisions for his voyage out.

On the 31st of January Thomas Clark's covenant was signed. On receipt of the advice of this nomination, it was unfortunately supposed in Calcutta that it had relation to Mr. Abraham-Thomas Clarke, the S. P. C. K. missionary. Accordingly, he being willing to accept the appointment, the military department on the 24th of November 1790† gazetted him to a chaplaincy in the room of the Rev. Dr. Mackinnon (who had been 'removed by the order of the Honourable Court of Directors' probably because he had passed into the service of the King), and sent him to the station of Fategarh, where he remained until early in 1792, officiating, however, during the hot weather of 1791 at Chunar. On news reaching London of his having left the Mission, the S. P. C. K. wrote to the Rev. Mr. Owen and the Rev. David Brown (Garrison Chaplain) begging them to take over charge of the Mission until the incumbency could be filled up.‡

* V.M. 1790, p. 243.

† M. D. Proceedings of date, No. 12.

‡ "Memorial Sketches of D.B.," page 289.

On Thursday, the 8th of September 1791, the *O. S. Dublin* anchored at Diamond Harbour, and landed the real incumbent of the office, the Rev. Thomas Clark, who, proving himself to be the person actually covenanted by the Court, was sent to take his namesake's place at Fategarh, while the latter was recalled and his appointment revoked.

Abraham-Thomas on his return to Calcutta may have resumed his duties at the Mission Church; but there is no evidence. On the 14th of February 1792 he begged protesting that he would never accept any gratuity for the duty, and obtained leave of Government to perform divine service every Sunday morning in the Jail. On the 20th of March following he laid before the Council a translation just completed by Mr. Francis Gladwin, the lexicographer, into Persian of Osterwald's *Abridgment of the Bible*. The work had been undertaken at Mr. Clarke's suggestion, and he apparently had seen it through the press. Copies of this work were forwarded by the Court free of postage to all the English Bishops and the Company's Directors, and the latter in their next general letter greatly commend Mr. Clarke's piety and energy both in the matter of the jail and of the translation.* In some ways, not ascertained, Clarke's zeal in his ministerial labours brought him into collision with the Presidency chaplains. Owen quoted to him the Government order of 12th August and 22nd December 1768. He rejoined that these restrained military chaplains alone from invasion of the rights of the Presidency clergy: he was not a chaplain and so was unaffected by them, but, he adds in a letter to Mr. Owen of January 18th, 1793:—

I have as a voluntary sacrifice to the chaplains at Calcutta declined officiating or interfering in duty where the Company's servants have been concerned which is all that can or ought to be expected from me.†

However, Blanshard and Owen did expect more and complained to Government 'that their office as Parish priests had been invaded' by Mr. Clarke, and appealed to the Board to define their several duties. The Board seems to have taken no action in the matter. In March 1794 Abraham-Thomas Clarke appears in the parish registers as officiating at Barrackpore for the Rev. Thomas Clark, who perhaps had been designated for that station, but did not take over the duties. This is the last that has been traced of the ex-chaplain.

Thomas Clark was transferred at the end of 1795 from Fategarh to Cawnpore, where he remained till November 1797. In December

* Gen. letter 25th June 1793.

† Pub. Cons. 1793, Jan. 28th.

1798 he obtained leave to go home on furlough. He sailed in January 1799 in the *Gabriel*, and did not return.

The monument by which Owen's name ought to be held in lasting honour in Calcutta is the native hospital, now enlarged and developed and known as the *Mayo Hospital*. Of this foundation *Asiaticus* says:—

For the Native Hospital we are indebted to the humane suggestions and pious industry of the Rev. *John Owen*, Junior Chaplain of Fort William, an active pastor, who, when in Bengal, boldly wielded his pen and commented on those who presumed to infringe on the rights of the Clergy.

No trace, it may be remarked, of this literary championship has come to light. Mr. Brown writes of him: 'He is a bold friend and able to speak with a quashing authority.'*

The date of the actual institution of the native hospital may be fixed as the 13th September 1792, the date on which Mr. Owen and his fellow promoters published their scheme in the newspapers. On the 6th July 1793 the Governor-General assigned to the hospital an income of S. Rs. 600 a month. During that year the subscriptions amounted to Rs. 54,000. On the 31st July of the following year, the first general meeting of the subscribers was held, and twelve Governors were nominated. Mr. Owen's name stands first on the list. On the 1st of September following, a house was opened in the Chitpore road for the reception of patients. In eight years' time 1,587 in-patients and 6,127 out-patients had been treated, and of these no less than 7,500 are said to have been restored to health. By this time the institution had acquired more spacious accommodation in Dharmtolla Street.

The European Hospital was also in a flourishing condition in Owen's time, if we are to believe *Sophia Goldborne*, who in her breathless way thus writes of it:—†

Near the Fort is the hospital I have already mentioned, erected for the reception of all indisposed persons, from whatever cause; throughout which, the wards or chambers are so neat and accommodating, that wretchedness repels, and malady is put to flight.—It is lighted and cooled by verandas, and every possible means are adopted to procure the free circulation of air, &c., &c., and it is allowed, by all who have seen it, to be superior to everything under that appellation in the universe; nor could I forbear, on viewing it, exclaiming

These are imperial works and worthy kings.

I was however, informed immediately, by one present, of the source and nature of its establishment; and find it was built by the united contributions of the Europeans of Calcutta, and the Company,—Yes, Arabella, this blessed Asylum originates from Commerce, and owes its support solely to Commerce; and

* Memorial sketches, p. 256.

† Hartly House, Vol. i., pp. 129-132.

observe, so charmed am I with the benevolence and the liberality of its institution that, should I ever have an unwieldy fortune to leave behind me, the only hospital I will endow with it, shall be the hospital of Calcutta.—But I am unable to impress you with pleasurable sensations I enjoyed, on being an eye witness of this invaluable place of refuge and accommodation for my diseased fellow-creatures and fellow-countrymen.

To gain admission into the Hospital of Calcutta, there is no other interest or recommendation necessary, than being an European, and deprived of health. Moreover, men of honour and humanity, tender of the lives of those received under their care, and tenacious of the just application of their subscription-money, are its visitants and superintendents; no experiments can therefore be tried, at the hazard of a worthy, though humble individual's safety; no harpy keepers can grind the face of the patients, or riot in plenty, whilst they are expiring from wretchedness and neglect; nor is a single nurse continued, that fails to perform the duties of her engagement; and the manifold restored patients prove the utility and the benevolence of the institution.

This hospital is that now known as the 'Presidency General Hospital.' The Company's Hospital establishment had been transferred to the present situation in 1768. Its earlier site was that now occupied by No. 1, Garstin's Place, and all the premises thence eastward to the road. In 1786 it had been placed under the management of the Medical Board of the Military Department.

In this institution also Mr. Owen took a practical interest, but of a pastoral character only.

Mr Owen [writes David Brown from Calcutta in 1792*] continues to me the support of his countenance and aid in the Mission, and is one of those who stands by it to the utmost of his power. He regularly preaches at the hospital on Sunday afternoons, where when I am free from the Mission I am to take my turn with him.

The period mysteriously alluded to by Owen in his letters to his brother-in-law and sister Beardmore was doubtless accomplished after the establishment of the native hospital, and he resigned his chaplaincy in 1793. He must have sailed by the very last ship of the season,—a ship in which, however, he was destined not to proceed further than the mouth of the Hooghly, whence he wrote to his brother-in-law the following letter full as usual of affectionate family concerns. There are passages in it which will perhaps make the reader smile when it is remembered that the writer was not himself a parent but a bachelor in his 40th year. They are such as are frequent in his correspondence with the Beardmores:—

May 12, 1793.

My dear Beardmore. This ship having been detained by an accident in the mouth of the river I write to tell you I am well. I shall be with you now before long. Remember me particularly to your wife. Exhort

* Memorial Sketches "of D. B.," p. 256.

her to habituate the great girls to carry themselves upright and wear clean linen, and feed themselves cleanly. I hope you see to their working well at the Harpsichord. Admit no excuse. Let them play while you are present and you will know they practice. I am not without doubts of their mother's resolution should they prove at all refractory. If once they find they can manage their mother, they will not spare her you may be assured. Should she want resolution you must supply it. Spare no expense upon their music. As I shall most likely spend some time in London I shall put on foot some little book work among them and see to its being done. But they are so big there is no threshing them,—my old expedient that never failed. Desire your wife to take great care of my prints and property. I hope soon to release her of her stewardship. Let nothing be taken out of my closet to be used. I mentioned to you having sent home two logs of Ebony 5 or 6 foot long and 9 or 10 inches thick (one somewhat less than the other) by Captain Wakofield of the General Goddard Indianman. They are directed to you out of letters cut in the wood, you must enquire for them if you have them not; but I take for granted you have them. I mentioned to you that Mrs. Bathurst, Mr. Blanshard's niece, of whom you may hear at Captain Blanshard's Walworth had three mats for me, such as you received before. Mr. Blanshard's brother Richard the mate of Captain Blanshard's ship has 2 china stools which he will send to you and for which you must pay what he mentions. God bless you my dear Beardmore and believe me,—Yours J. OWEN.

I wrote a long letter Tuffen by the last ship.

Owen, as will have been perceived from previous passages quoted from his letter, had very precise ideas on the subject of the education and domestic training of girls. The following illustrates his ideas as to the acquirements to be expected in his nephew of seven or eight years old:—

I am much chagrined at your wife's excessive care of your eldest boy Joe. He differs little in age from a nephew of Blanshard's who has far advanced in latin and makes public orations at the holyday times among the eldest of the school. A child who cannot construe any common latin book at 7 or 8 years of age has thrown away so much of the prime part of his life for learning as no industry can afterwards retrieve. I confess I had a foolish desire of teaching Joe myself, should I live to return, and see for once what I could do with a boy tolerably apt. But so much of his life has now been thrown away that no great degree of proficiency can henceforward be possible. It does not become a father to let the mistaken fondness of a mother and her fear of chilblains be the occasion of loss in so precious a matter as education at a time of life that never can be recalled. . . . It is with sorrow, when I hear of my friend Blanshard tell of his little nephew's saying he will be a parson, that I recollect it is now too late to bring up my nephew to any scholarlike profession. I hope your negligence of the boy will be compensated at least to the satisfaction of their mother and aunts in the care of the girls [*Letter of 12th Aug. 1791*].

Having given up the ignoramus Joe, he writes of him a year later:—

I am glad you have sent your boy to school, educate him as well as you can and he will make a good Hozier succeed you: we will make the other

a parson if he have tolerable genius and a good disposition [*Letter of 16th Oct. 1792*].

The ideas on the education of children a century ago prevalent are in curious contrast with those of our own day. One is glad to know that Joe, despite the backwardness of his infancy, did progress in Latin, and his uncle's hope in him revived.

The accident mentioned in the letter written from the mouth of the Hooghly caused Owen's return to Calcutta, and thus necessitated, since he doubtless preferred to avoid the monsoon, a delay in his departure until the next cold weather. In December 1793 he again set sail for Europe proposing to follow the overland route. Of the adventures of the journey an entertaining account is given in a letter addressed by him from Naples to his most frequent correspondent :—

Naples, 1st of July 1794.

My dear Sir, I embarked as I informed you from Bengal the beginning of last December. We were obliged to take a circuitous passago to avoid the French Privateers. I arrived at Bombay the 17 of January. I employed myself and visiting some extraordinary Hindoo antiquities on that side of India, and on the 10 of February I embarked for the Red Sea. I arrived at Suez (we had a long passage) about the 20 of April. From thence I went to Cairo across the Isthmus, a journey of about 90 miles. I rode two nights and two days on a camel without resting except twice for half-an-hour and once for about two hours. This was tight work as I slept none for 3 days and two nights; and a camel is an odd fellow to bestride. These poor things drank not a drop of water the whole way nor tasted a morsel of food but from a prickly little bush that occurred on two or three occasions in this frightful desert. The first day we met with the hot wind of these regions which obscured the heavens with the sand that drove before it. Such was its violence that it was not only necessary to cover the face, but likewise the hands from the attack of the sand which struck on the flesh like the points of needles. This wind lasted with slight remissions for 6 or 7 hours. It is extremely rare for travellers across the Isthmus to meet with such a time. I visited the Pyramids and stayed 3 weeks or more at Cairo and I embarked from Alexandria the 23 of May with two English gentlemen whom I found in Egypt, for Malta. You may tell Miss Botsey that I followed the Rout of the apostle to Rome (27 of Acts ver. 7.) I embarked in a ship of Alexandria and sailed under the Island of Crete (now Candia) from thence to the Island Melita (now Malta) from thence to Syracuse in Sicily (now Syragose) from thence to Regium (now Reggio.) I am at this hour performing quarantine at an Island four miles from Naples with Puteoli (now Puzzoli) just across a small bay about 2 miles distant. There has been an earthquake here about 7 days before our arrival and the most considerable eruption of Vesuvius that has happened within the memory of man. I saw three days ago the smoke and then ashes slowly ascend in a dense compact mass a little like an enormous fire tree (as Pliny says) to the height of two-miles-and-a-quarter from the earth. Sir W. Hamilton said on the first eruption he judged it to be 5 miles high. The

ashes were borne as far as Tarento two hundred miles from thence. Had the wind set towards Naples Sir W. Hamilton told me the city must have been deserted. I suppose we shall not be out of quarantine (though the plague has not been this year at Cairo or Alexandria) this fortnight. I hope to be with you pretty early in September. I have drawn on you ten days sight for twenty pounds in favor of Mr. England who acts as consul at Malta. I shall draw on you again for about 120 or 130 more partly from this place in behalf of Mr. Mackinnon a banker here or elsewhere on the road, at ten days sight. When you have read this be so good as to send it by the same night post to Mrs. Ford and Mrs. Pine and I hereby desire Mrs. Ford to supply you with money for the various sums above specified or what little above them I may draw for. My health is perfectly good, as you may suppose from my being as well when I alighted from my camel at Cairo as ever I was in my life. Have you obtained the two pieces of black wood on which I sent out your direction: I sent them on board the Indiaman Captain . . . last January (twelve month). My friend Mr. F. Smyth of Calcutta tells me he has sent the duplicate and triplicate of a bill for 105 on the court of directors to you, of which I have advised you: it is to repay part of my debt to you. He has likewise told you, as I have, that a large mahogany chest is sent in the *Lansdown* Captain Boulderson (a friend of mine) it is entered in the Company's manifest of presents directed to you. It is called 'specimens of natural history and arms of India' or some such appellation. I enclose you bills of lading enclosed to you from Mr. Smyth. There will be no freight to pay as the company gives the freight to all things entered as presents. In this chest are my papers and several curiosities. You must employ an agent of the India house to purchase it in if you cannot conveniently be there yourself when these things are put up. Be careful however to obtain an honest agent or every thing will be stole.

The *Lansdown* would leave Bengal about the end of February last. I forgot now the captain's name by whom I sent the black wood by, but I mentioned it to you in former letters. Remember me to Tuffin: I hope they have not got him in Jail with the patriots and Jacobins. Tell him I am at hand.

I am most truly yours ever,

J. OWEN.

The most affectionate remembrance to your wife. Send the enclosed by penny post to Mr. Johnson:—

For Mrs. Pine and Mrs. Ford.

MY DEAR SISTERS,

I have desired Mr. Beardmore to send you the above which will inform you where I am at present. Till now I have not had the slightest opportunity of writing since I left Bengal. I am sorry if it has occasioned uneasiness to any of you. God bless you all. Please to present my compliments to Mr. Pine, and my love to the children.

I am most truly,

Your affectionate servant and brother,

J. OWEN.

This letter is smoked quite brown, the marks of the tongs being visible across it by a white streak in the paper; it is endorsed *Open at the Lazaretto to be fumigated; forwarded by Macaulay Mackinnon & Co.*

It would be beyond the scope of these annals to follow the latter life of the Rev. John Owen, though materials for the purpose are abundant and full of interest. They consist mostly in a great collection of his letters in the possession of the Rev. H. J. Beardmore of Brighton and other representatives of his family. It must suffice now to indicate merely the outline of his after career.

On returning from India he resided for some time at Clifton. His continued interest in the missionary enterprise of the S. P. C. K. is evidenced by "A charge delivered from the chair at a General Meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge at their house in Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn, on Tuesday, April 4th, 1797, to the *Rev. William Toby Ringeltaube* and the *Rev. Immanuel Gottfried Holzberg* then about to embark for the East Indies as Missionaries to the heathen, by *John Owen, B.A.*, a member of that Society and sometime Chaplain to the Presidency of Bengal. Published at the unanimous request of the Board." In 1799 he went to Holland with the Army under the command of General Abercromby. In September of that year he is described as 'Chaplain to His Majesty's Guards in Holland.' Returning home he was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Richmond on the 17th January 1801. On the 2nd March 1802 he became Rector of the united Parishes of St. Benet and St. Peter, Paul's Wharf in the City of London, by the gift of the Bishop of Chester. In 1809 he was Chaplain on the staff of Sir Arthur Wellesley during the Peninsular war. After this campaign a homely picture of the Archdeacon is afforded to us by one of his Beardmore nieces:—

After my Uncle Owen's return from Portugal, he lived with my Grand father, and my two Aunts at Canonbury near London, and always had a desk standing near the fire, with great quarto books upon it, which he brought from the Stationers' Hall Library, then the best in London, and which he on one side, and Grandpapa on the other side of the fire used to read all the evening. Aunt Eliza sat in the middle.

In about 1814 he was appointed 'Chaplain-General to His Majesty's Forces,' and on the 1st of June 1820 the Archbishop of Canterbury presented him to the Rectory of East Horseley, Surrey.

In the churchyard of this parish a huge square monument bears the following epitaph:—

Sacred to the Memory of
 the REV. JOHN OWEN, A. M.
 Rector of this parish
 and of the United Parishes of S. Bonot
 and S. Peter, Paul's Wharf, London.
 Archdeacon of Richmond in Yorkshire
 and Chaplain-General to his
 Majesty's Forces.
 Died June 4th, 1824, aged 70 years.
Resurget.

Shortly before his death he purchased the estate of Juniper Hall in the parish of Mickleham, Surrey, as a residence for his unmarried nieces, Elizabeth and Frances Beardmore, who inherited his property valued at about £100,000. Among his benefactions is the *Clericus Trust* in the hands of the S. P. C. K. for supplying Prayer-books to soldiers.

A long account of the Archdeacon's last illness is given in one of the letters of his elder niece, it concludes thus:—

His sufferings during his illness were great, but his resignation and patience were equally great. His constant prayer was for patience and resignation. *Thy will be done, O God*, he would repeat many and many a time. You, Sir, who knew him, know how averse his notions were to anything that may be termed cant, how comparatively seldom he spoke on religious subjects, but when he did speak on them it was with such energy and power that it proved irresistible. His own striking manner continued during his illness and his humility was the most striking feature of it. He would often speak of the great Atonement and his own firm belief in its efficacy to my sister and me who had the happiness of being his constant attendants from the beginning of his illness till his death. During the last twelve hours of his life he was perfectly collected, and his noble faculties seemed to anticipate the felicity so soon to be enjoyed. From about one o'clock till five in the morning he followed the chapters as they were read to him when he said, 'That is enough.' Some short prayer he then repeated but not so as to be distinctly heard. From that time till eleven, when he expired, he neither spoke nor moved; so peaceful, and quiet was the release, that death seemed disarmed of all its terrors. One of my Cousins Ford and I watched each breath as it became shorter and shorter. Though our loss is irreparable his gain is so great that we only rejoice that that release which he had so long and so ardentlly wished for, was at length granted. On the 4th June, his happy spirit took its flight.

In a fragmentary memoir Miss Beardmore records the following, which shows that on one subject of the deepest sanctity—that of the

Eucharistic Sacrifice—her uncle's convictions were not those of his ancient teacher *John Wesley*:—

[On] March 24th, 1824 my uncle said "I ought to have been more urgent with you on all these great points. Perhaps I have not been so much so because I have been disgusted with those drivelling with that great subject, and have been afraid of your all falling into cant. The Sacrament was in commemoration of that great Atonement. It is the custom of eastern countries to have a feast to commemorate a great [event?] This is merely a feast. There is nothing mystical in it, as the Lutherans think, [but] which [neither] they nor anyone else can understand.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1777 to 1800.

IN previous chapters the early history has been traced of the *Charity Fund* in the hands of the Chaplains and Church-wardens of St. Anne's and St. John's of the *Court House* [from which the Fund on January 19th, 1778, had come to receive a rent from Government, still paid, of S. Rs. 800 a month*] and of the *Charity School* maintained by the fund. From 1777 to 1784 the master of the Charity School was the Rev. John Christman Diemer, LL.D., a son-in-law of Charles Weston, and a colleague of the Rev. Mr. Kiernander in the S. P. C. K. Mission. In December 1777, Mr. Kiernander had resigned the charge of the school into this gentleman's hands.

Diemer's salary on appointment was 100 Arcot Rupees a month. The bills of his last year (before his resignation on a visit to Europe) show that the cost of boarding and schooling the twenty boys came monthly to S. R. 200. He had two ushers to assist him at S. R. 50 each. S. R. 100 a month was paid as house-rent, S. R. 23 as servants' wages, and S. R. 5 for paper, ink and quills—the monthly total being S. R. 528. One year's clothing of the boys cost S. R. 386-6-3; it consisted of 'longdrawers and waistcoats' made of gingham, with—perhaps in the cold weather only—a blue cloth jacket. They were allowed each one quilt and two pillow cases a year and four pairs of shoes. Shoes, it may be remarked, have long ceased to be provided by the Charity to the boys of the institution. Hats or caps have never been supplied to the boys. For their schooling we find Bibles, New Testaments, Common Prayer Books, Psalters and spelling books purchased.

From the 1st of January 1785, the expenses of the Charity were increased by a payment of S. R. 250 a month in place of the former S. R. 100 for house-rent—a sum which, considering the smallness of the school, must be deemed excessive. At the same date the Rev. Mr. Johnson, Junior Chaplain, became overseer of the school and drew until his departure from India in 1788 Mr. Diemer's former allowance of S. R. 100 a month for his trouble, the parish clerk William Aldwel acting as schoolmaster under him.

On the 28th of June 1787, the Select Vestry, at its first meeting held at the new Church of St. John under the chairmanship of the

* An order confirming the continuance of this rent after the demolition of the Court House is published in the *Gazette* of November 8th, 1793.

Governor-General, adopted and caused to be published in the *Gazette* the following account of the existing state and supposed origin of the Charity.* It has been already shown† that the then current tradition respecting the Restitution money and Omichand's donation and bequest of the Court House were entirely apocryphal:—

With respect to the original establishment of the *Charity Fund* the information of the Vestry is very incomplete, and as no proceedings of former vestrys nor any documents whatever (except the public Registers and an account from the executors of the will of the last Church-warden) [have come into their hands] they are obliged to rely on the reports of others for the truth of the information they have received of the origine of the Fund. This is said to have commenced in the Restitution money granted by the *Nawab Jaffer Ally Cawn* in consequence of the demolition of the Old Church in 1766 when Calcutta was taken by *Surajah Dowlah*. The amount, which is not exactly ascertained, was converted to the use of a charitable institution existing at that time for the support and education of twenty boys, the children of British subjects in indigent circumstances.

The famous *Omichand* is reported to have made a donation to this Charity of twenty or thirty thousand rupees, but no certain account has been obtained of it. Omichund bequeathed to the Charity the rent of the house used at one period for the Charity School, but afterwards let to the Company under the name of the *Town Hall*. It is now known by the name of the *Old Court House*, and has undergone various additions and improvements at the Company's expense and at the expense of the inhabitants.

The rent paid for that house by the Company is eight hundred rupees per month and may be considered as the only certain revenue belonging to the fund exclusive of the interest arising from the money which is invested in the Company's paper.

Another donation exceeding six thousand rupees was paid into this Charity by *Mr. Charles Weston*, as executor of the will of *Lawrence Constantius*, an Armenian, who had bequeathed the reversion of his estate for charitable purposes.

The present Church-wardens have not been able to collect accounts of any donations in addition to those already mentioned except the occasional donations and subscriptions at the Chapel which have of course afforded some little assistance to the Charity.

The following is a list of the children now maintained at the Charity School and annexed to it is a list of those who have been put out to service:—

LIST OF BOYS now maintained by the CHARITY FUND.

Simon, Frederick.	Martin James.	Rieves, John
King, William.	Johnson, John.	Tomlin, James.
Civas, John.	Berrington, Stephen.	Kent, Harry.
McColman, Archibald.	Flesham, Ambroso.	Rye, Martin.
Rieves, David.	Grief, Robert.	Heather, Samuel.
McColman, John.	Adams, James.	Leslie, Robert.
Rye, William.	Linch, Daniel.	

* *Calcutta Gazette*, July 5th, 1787.

† See pages 90 to 92.

LIST OF BOYS placed out from the CHARITY SCHOOL.

Gordon, Simon. February 22, 1785 ; bound by indenture to the late John Hay, printer, for five years, his master covenanting to provide him with every necessary during that term.

Harris, John. March 1, 1785 ; bound by indenture to Lieut. Col. Martin for five years, his master, &c., &c.

Lewis, Francis. April 1786 ; to Mr. Landbourg to serve Captain J. Friend at the request of the said Captain Friend by his letter to the Reverend William Johnson, bearing date the 28 February, 1786.

Grief, John. August 2, 1786 ; articulated to Mr. Charles-Christian Kier, Attorney-at-law, who covenants to find him every necessary during three years.

Scallow, John. October 1786 ; sent to serve Mr. Rabin, Attorney-at-law, as a writer ; but Mr. Rabin not choosing to enter into covenants he left him and at present is assistant at the Reverend Mr. Kiermader's School at twenty-five rupees a month.

Male, Emmanuel. October 2, 1786 ; bound by indenture to Messrs. Goldsmith and Britridge, jewellers and silversmiths : the Reverend Mr. Johnson covenants to find him clothes, washing, and in time of sickness, a doctor.

Murray, George. Nov. 1, 1786 ; bound by indenture to the late Mr. John Hay, printer, for five years, his master covenanting to provide him with every necessary during the term.

It will be the early care of the Vestry to regulate the expenses of the school and to make regulations as it may appear necessary, and, as the funds of the Charity will admit of a large extension of its benefits, it is agreed and ordered that in lieu of the number of children now maintained by them there shall be fifty children, thirty of whom shall be males and twenty females the orphans of indigent British subjects, the fathers being Protestants, and the children of British subjects now living, the fathers being Protestants and unable to maintain them. Applications for the admission of such children are to be made to either of the chaplains or either of the church-wardens with a particular explanation of the circumstances attending the children ; and the chaplains and churchwardens shall jointly determine on the propriety of admitting them.

The following is an abstract of the principal items in the account delivered by Mr. Powney, as executor of the will of the late Mr. Vansittart, who was the last church-warden. It commences with the 14th April 1783, and ends with the 8th May, 1787—

<i>Sundry expenditure, with gratuity to Chapel Clerk</i>			
<i>for teaching the boys to sing</i>	...	...	C.R. 353 15 0
<i>Boarding, house-rent, clothing, and all other ex-</i>			
<i>penses for four years, averaging for each of the</i>			
<i>20 boys at C. Rs. 37-15-7 a month</i>	...	..	„ 36,454 15 9
<i>For an organ S. R. 1,500</i>	...	...	„ 1,746 0 0

among the receipts :—

Cash Balance taken over from Mr. Church-warden

<i>Larkins</i> ... ..	... C. R. 1,744	5	2
<i>Receipts by Interest on investments</i> ...	... 33,097	6	6
<i>Old Court House rent, 50 mos. S. R. 40,000</i> ...	... 46,400	0	0
<i>Collected at St. John's Chapel</i> 6,845	13	8

<i>A Cash balance in hand is shown of C. R.</i> ...	49,556	11	11
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The stock of the fund consisted of two Company's bonds representing C. R. 58,200, and seven certificates bearing 8 per cent. interest representing C. R. 62,640. The Court House was valued at C. R. 92,800.*

The resolution to educate female children as well as male was not carried into effect at once ; for, while a resolution to the same tenour occurs in the vestry minute of September 13th of that year, 1787, in October there are still but twenty boys reported as enjoying the advantages of the foundation.† The first move in advance was made on the 17th of January of the next year, when the Vestry chose four destitute girls and boarded them out with a Mrs. Jane Jarvis at Rs. 35 a month each, exclusive of clothing. The outfit of a Charity girl was much debated before settled upon by the Vestry.‡

By the end of 1787 the enlarged list of thirty boys had been more than filled up : there were thirty-two in the School.§ Robert Hollier, the Church clerk, taught the boys, and it was decided to pay him Rs. 100 a month for this service. And one Thomas Kincey was appointed to assist him in the duties with a small staff of servants.|| The whole establishment, as has been already said, was under the superintendence of the Reverend William Johnson, then Senior Chaplain, who received Rs. 100 a month as remuneration. On this gentleman's resignation of the chaplaincy in February 1788, the paid superintendentship was not continued. Just before he left, namely on the 7th of February, the Vestry adopted a suggestion for housing the entire Charity School, which was to number fifty children when the lists were complete,—a suggestion more advantageous to the Sidesman who made it than to the comfort of the school. Up to the time of Mr. Kiernander's bankruptcy, the boys had been lodged in a house probably near by the mission school, where they apparently

* See also Vestry Minutes, 1789, p. 220.

† V. R. 1787, pp. 66 and 104.

‡ V. R. 1788, pp. 86-88.

§ V. R. p. 99.

|| V. R. 1788, pp. 102 and 114.

attended for instruction ; now they and the girls were to be transferred to *Cossipore House*, four miles and more from St. John's, a property of Mr. Sidesman Cudbert Thornhill's, to whom the Vestry agreed to pay a rent of Rs. 400 a month for two years.* The landlord undertook to convey the boys by water to and fro St. John's on Sunday mornings for Divine Service.†

A Mrs. Clarke was subsequently appointed mistress of the girls at Rs. 100 a month, with residence of course, and allowances. She, however, died before taking charge of the duties, and a Mrs. Tilsey succeeded her. On the 1st of May 1788, the boys were moved to their new abode, and on June 15th the girls were removed hither from the charge of Mrs. Jarvis‡—and their full number then, or soon after completed.

The Vestry at this period consisted of the Earl Cornwallis, K. G., Governor-General, the Rev. Thomas Blanshard, Senior Chaplain, and the Rev. John Owen, Junior Chaplain, with Charles Cockerell and Richard Johnson as Church-wardens, and Charles Sealy and Cudbert Thornhill as Sidesmen. Their minutes are full of arrangements for the future conduct and discipline of the Charity, now called *the Bengal Charity School*.§ Among these is to be found a curious form of indenture to be adopted on apprenticing the boys.|| The new mistress and matron soon proved too sickly for her work, and the appointment was given on the 18th of August to Mrs. Isabella Patterson, late an assistant at the Military Orphan Asylum.¶ The next official appointed was a doctor ; on the 15th of January 1789, a Mr. Dietricht was engaged, on pay and allowances equal to those of one of the Company's assistant surgeons, to attend the children. He received at first Sonat Rs. 174 a month—made up by a daily rate of Rs. 3 with a 'gratuity' of Rs. 24 and 'half batta' of Rs. 60. The day after his appointment he proceeded to 'prepare the children for inoculation,' that is, with small-pox—an operation now illegal—and he sent in a bill for Rs. 50 for 'sundry medicines preparative for inoculation for eighteen of the children, consisting of eight doses of alterative powder and two doses of purging powder for each.' The result of the infliction was apparently satisfactory.

* V. R. 1788, p. 122.

† V. R., p. 146.

‡ V. R., p. 153.

§ V. R. 1788, pp. 133, 135, 136, 139, 140, 166, 167, 175.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¶ V. R., p. 161.

The practise of inoculation with small-pox was then of but recent introduction into India,—perhaps the first recorded instance of it in Calcutta is that recorded in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 4th of May 1786, when 56 children of the Orphan Society was subjected to the operation by Mr. Nasmyth Surgeon at the request of the managers. All these recovered. Nine children, however, who were not inoculated caught the disease by infection, and of these three died.

Mr. Dietricht's charge to the Vestry for medicines on ordinary occasions was Rs. 2 for a '4 oz. sudorific mixture' and half that sum for a 'purgine powder.*' In two months' time he had administered Rs. 153 worth of medicines at these rates, when the Vestry contracted with him for a fixed medicine allowance of Rs. 50 a month. Mr. Dietricht, however, doubtless owing to the distance of Cossiporo House from town, did not find his profits from the school sufficient, and on the 27th of November following he resigned, and a Mr. J. W. Smith was elected medical officer, at the same salary and allowances until the school should be removed back to town.† His bills show that he drew S.R. 174 a month for attendance and S.R. 50 for medicines.

The bills of 1789 show that the Church clerk, Robert Hollier, was still Charity School master. He had twenty-five boys, and boarded them at Rs. 6 a month each. S.R. 200 had been charged for twenty at an earlier period. Hollier's salary was S.R. 100 and his one assistant, Thomas Kincey, drew S.R. 90. Kincey's wife, Isabella, was mistress of the girls at S.R. 100. She had two assistants at S.R. 16 a month each. There were only sixteen girls in the school, and they were boarded at the same rate as the boys.

A clothing bill of this year exists and is curious and perhaps intelligible to the properly instructed.

1789: *The Gentlemen Trustees for the Charity School*

Sept. 4th. making and trimming fifty two Dresses the Jackots as that of a Watterman, with Plats and Tucks and 6 buttons each slave. Blue Stals and Buttens and stand up collars with blue in front. A waistcoat, For parts sould to the Body of the Jacket, and the Long Drauers with Buttons below and one half with strings the other with waistsbands. D. Each Dress making and Trimming ... @ 3-8 each ...	182
Making and Trimming two Do. as musters for Do. @ 3-8 ...	7

Calcutta, Nov. 20th. 1789 S. Rs. 189

E. E. Received the contents *John Anderson*. Agreeable to proposal of 17th April. 89.

* V. R. 1789, p. 192.

† *Ibid.*, p. 216.

The affairs of the School appear to have gone on quite satisfactorily for over a year, when it became very apparent that the local need for charitable education and maintenance of destitute children was by no means met. Mr. Kiernander's school having disappeared, the need was intensified. The Vestry therefore determined to make an effort to cope with this need at a public meeting attended by themselves and a few other gentlemen with the Governor-General in the chair. This was on St. Thomas's Day, December 21st, 1789. It was then resolved to found a society to be called '*The Free School Society of Bengal*,' of which the governing body was to be the select Vestry and six other gentlemen then elected with the Governor-General as Patron, the Church-wardens being perpetual treasurers of the funds.* Four 'Honorary Governesses' of the Society were also to be elected. The Free School, however, had not actually commenced work before (January 12th, 1790) a proposal to unite its establishment with that of the Charity School is found to be in the air, and this was actually carried out on the following 28th of February, when the two years' lease of the Cossipore house expired. The Vestry and Governors hired on a two years' lease a large house with six biggahs and six cottahs of compound, belonging to Mr. Charles Weston and Constantia, his wife, adjoining the mission premises formerly occupied by General Sir John Clavering, K. B., Member of Council. The house still stands; it is the spacious mansion now occupied by Messrs. J. Thomas & Co., Indigo Brokers, and numbered 8 in Mission Row.† The monthly rent paid by the joint charities was apparently Rs. 350, the cost of necessary alterations being shared by the funds.‡

On the 1st of April 1790 there were seventeen boys and twelve girls on the Free School establishment, and by December of the year following (1791), there were fifty boys and thirty girls whose board cost Rs. 6-14-8 each per month.

There were also twenty-one boys, day-scholars evidently, whose food cost Rs. 3 a month each. The Rev. Dr. Diemer, who had returned to India, was then the Headmaster, and Hollier was 'manager' of the establishment. Dr. Diemer died on the 21st of February 1792, aged 44 years.§

* See *Calcutta Gazette* of 1790, January 14th, January 21st, and April 1st.

† V. R. 1790, p. 219. Mr. Weston had purchased it from the Company on July 23rd, 1773, for S. R. 34,000.

‡ V. R. 1790, pp. 238, 239.

§ Epitaph in Park Street S. Burial Ground.

The following is the programme of the *Anniversary procession* of the two establishments on St. Thomas's Day, 1791:—

The Governors to meet at $\frac{1}{2}$ past nine at the Free School. The children to leave the school in procession at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 10 o'clock in the following order:—

1st. School Misstress (Mrs. Gunn).

Female children of the Charity School.

Assistant School Mistress (Mrs. McInnes).

Female children of the Free School.

Ladies and Honorary Governesses with the Clergy who may be present.

Mr. Hollier

Male children of the Charity School.

2nd. Master and assistants.

Male children of the Free School.

Superintendent and Governors.

Note.—The youngest children go first.

In the previous year the anniversary service was apparently followed by a public breakfast.

The Government, having entered into practical ownership of the Court House, while paying the monthly rent of S. R. 800 to the Charity Fund, decided to perfect its title to the premises; and on the 10th July 1792, it was announced at the quarterly Vestry meeting that the Governor-General in Council had directed the Select Vestry should execute a formal conveyance of the whole premises to the Company; and this was accordingly done. The Vestry had then no title deeds to the property, but could show long uninterrupted possession.* The original lease and release by the Chaplains and Select Vestry of the Court House to the Hon'ble Company are dated the 12th and 13th August 1792, respectively. They describe the property as a "Capital upper roomed brick built messuage, tenement or dwelling house commonly called and known by the name of the Old Court House and situate standing and being on the north side of a certain place or square in Calcutta called or known by the name of the Tank Square, with the close thereto belonging containing by estimation two begahs, together with all Houses, outhouses, yards, gardens, &c., &c., thereto belonging." They sell the property, which is 'an Estate of inheritance in fee simple,' in consideration of Rs. 5 a piece to each of the 6 signatories, 'reserving to themselves their successors and assigns as trustees and the select vestry aforesaid a certain fee farm rent' of sicca rupees 800 a month.† The Government then at once ordered the old building to be

* V. R. 1792, p. 25.

† Deeds deposited with the Treasury, Calcutta, No. 169.

pulled down; it is reported to have become unsafe, and the 'Public Consultations' of Government for the year 1792 appear to contain no business under the department of 'the Civil Architect'—save such as concerns its demolition. The chief work of that official from March to November was the submitting of plans for a New Court House—never erected. The Scotch Kirk of St. Andrew now occupies the site.

At the same meeting at which this conveyance to the Company was consented to, the Vestry ordered an increase in the number of boys on the *Charity School* Foundation from thirty to forty and of girls from twenty to thirty. The *Free School* children were of similar numbers, and the revenue of both Charities increasing in proportion, it was decided to acquire a permanent habitation for them, and in 1793 a property, consisting of a house and land near Jaun Bazar, was purchased by the Governors of the Charities from Mr. Louis Baretto.

The value of this 'garden House at Jaun Bazar' was estimated at Easter 1802 at S. R. 87,869-8-5.* This site is still occupied by the Free School. In 1795 School buildings were erected upon it, and the whole of the children—seventy of the 'Charity' and about seventy-eight of the "Free School"—were removed into them; day scholars were also now taken in and taught *gratis*; these latter were stated to be in March 1796 nearly sixty in number.

It had been customary at St. John's to devote the Christmas alms to the Charity Fund, but as that Fund, had come, it was said, 'not to need the money,' the S. R. 800 and thirteen tickets collected on Christmas morning of 1795 were transferred to the Free School Fund, to which it appears public subscriptions had begun to fall off. And it was resolved by the Vestry in future to devote the Christmas alms to the Free School. The Easter alms of 1798 (S. R. 635) were similarly transferred to the Free School, and it was ordered that thenceforth the Church collections on the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday should be similarly appropriated. The property of the Charity Fund is reported on the 1st of August 1796 to consist exclusively of the Old Court House rent of S. R. 57,068-15-6 in Company's Bonds, and S. R. 97,741-4-4 in Company's Promissory notes, representing together a capital of S. R. 154,810-3-10, out of which the Vestry supported a considerable number of pensioners besides the school.†

* V. R. 1802, p. 90.

† V. R. Aug. 1st, 1796, and 1799, p. 70.

The subscriptions to the *Free School* continuing to fall off, a curious device was adopted to supplement them: in the Vestry minutes of April 17th, 1797, occurs the following:

As the reading-desk and pulpit with the steps surrounding them occupy a very considerable space [they stood apparently in front of the organ loft between the two pillars at the west end] which, were a gallery erected in this place, would not only render the church capable of accommodating a more numerous congregation, but occasionally serve as an orchestra for the performance of sacred music; and thereby become a more hopeful fund for the support of the school established for the education of the children of the Christian poor of this town than voluntary subscriptions, which are decreasing from year to year.

Government sanctioned the project, and the new orchestra gallery was erected before the year ended. It is the bowed gallery at the west end of the church which is to be seen extending beyond the original pillars and platform of the old organ loft.

The idea of providing this permanent orchestra gallery arose with the success attending two grand performances of Handel's music at St. John's on Monday, February 27th, and Friday, March 3rd, of 1797. A long account of these performances, for which admission tickets were sold, realizing about R. 800 for the benefit of the Free School, is given in the *Calcutta Gazette* of March 9th. To accommodate the musicians on these occasions there was constructed, in about two days, 'a very large and commodious orchestra, which was projected in front of the organ loft, and extended over two-fifths of the body of the church.' This was a temporary structure of course.

At the same time that the new permanent Orchestra loft was constructed, the North and South galleries were entirely rebuilt, a new Altar, pulpit and prayer desk were made and other structural improvements added to St. John's Church, together with a new palanquene shed and ornamental entrance gates. Details of all these works and their cost, which was met by Government, are given in the Vestry Minutes, over the signatures of David Brown and Paul Limrick, Chaplains, Francis Horsley and Thomas Boileau, Church-wardens, and William Pawson and Levi Ball, Sidesmen.*

The Manager of the old Charity establishments, Robert Hollier, the Church and Vestry clerk, died on the 28th of September 1797, and a William Barnfield succeeded him in all his offices and retained them till the end of 1807. He soon became also "purveyor to the schools"

* Also B. P. C. 1797, Sep. 8th, Nos. 1 and 2, also Nos. 25 to 28, and 1798, Jan. 16th, Nos. 29 and 27, and May 4th, No. 10, and Dec. 24th, No. 4, and Dec. 31st, No. 32.

—a very lucrative situation. It is likely that Hollier had become incapable of properly discharging his school duties for some time previously, for one William Baillie is found as ‘Superintending master.’ This man was a skilful artist with the paint brush, and published the admirable series of coloured etchings of Calcutta views which bear his name. About the same time Mr. George Samuel Hutteman became Head Master of the Free School establishment and Secretary to the Governors. This gentleman was apparently the son of an old S.P.C.K. missionary in South India. He held his mastership of thirteen years. A Mr. P. Levesque served with him in 1797. On the 16th of September 1797, it was resolved to increase the number of children from October 1st on the “Charity” establishment from sixty (seventy had been the number adopted in 1792) to hundred, either boys or girls.

The inconvenience of keeping two distinct establishments and two sets of accounts for what was practically one Charity School having long been felt by the Vestry, who really managed both Institutions, it was determined to consolidate them. The *Gazette* of April 17th, 1800, contains an advertisement convening a public meeting to deal with the matter so far as the Free School was concerned. The meeting took place on the 21st of April, but no one outside the Select Vestry attended it. The resolution to unite the Institutions was of course unanimous because both had the same object, namely, to maintain and educate gratis poor European children ‘and apprentice them out as servants to traders.’ It was stated in the resolution that

The subscriptions to the Free School had decreased in past years, and the available property of each institution, being of a contingent nature so that each was obliged occasionally to lend and borrow interchangeably from the funds of the other, a confusion of accounts was thereby produced.

The united capital was estimated at Rs. 2,01,609-15-1 ‘independent of dead stock and contingencies.’ It was resolved to increase the total number of the children from 160 to 200, and that the sole governors of the United Charities should be the Select Vestry. Mr. Francois Horsley, the senior Church-warden, became ‘Treasurer of the Charity Fund’—an office which he held until Easter 1805, when he resigned, and the Bank of Hindostan took his place.

The bills of 1800 show that in the month of June the schools consumed :—

		Rs.	A.	P.
2274½ Loaves @ 25 per rupee S. R.	...	90	15	8
Milk 2250 seers @ 18 seers to the rupee	...	141	10	8

The total of the expenditure other than salaries for this month was S. Rs. 791-3-4, of which Rs. 500-1-1 was the cost of victualling and Rs. 109-6-0 that of clothing. Native servants cost Rs. 120.

The dietary then in use was much as follows:—

Sunday.—Beef, with onions, greens and dhall.

Monday.—Vegetable curry with dhall.

Tuesday.—Beef, with pumpkin curry.

Wednesday.—Mutton.

Thursday.—Mutton, with curry and plantains.

Friday.—Vegetable curry.

Saturday.—Mutton, with potatoes, and a curry.

This dieting was but slightly varied save in the matter of potatoes and plantains throughout the month—Friday was always a *jour maigre*, on Thursdays six sheep were provided, on other mutton days but four. The price of six sheep was Rs. 7-6-0; dhall was 5 seers for two annas; ghee 11½ chittacks for 8 annas; 19 maunds of rice at Rs. 1-4-0 a maund were used in the month and 60 seers of salt.

The following salaries were paid for June, 1800—

Geo. Saml. Hutteman, Head Master and Secy. S. R.	200
William Barnfield, 1st Assistant ...	80
Ditto ... for having charge of clothing ...	20 100
John Grieff ... 2nd Assistant ...	65
I. Wharhirst ... 3rd Do. ...	55
Ditto ... for having charge of the boys ...	10 65
W. Gomm ... 4th Do. ...	55
James Bishop ... 5th Do. ...	55
M. Smith ... 1st Mistress ...	100
Elizabeth Bishop 2nd Do. ...	50
Chas. Ladd ... Singing Master ...	100
S. R. ...	790

During the month there were in all 159 children in the united schools.

Extensive improvements were made the next year in the school-house.

At Easter 1802, the Vestry resolved that as the United Charity and Free School had become too full of 'Portuguese and Bengal children' so that European children were kept out, in future none but children of European parentage should be admitted, and that the total number of boys and girls in the School was not to exceed 250—evidently admission to the school during recent years had been far too easy.

An old Charity School boy, John Grieff, was at this time leader of St. John's Choir; his name will be found in the list of apprentices of 1787. He was an assistant master of the school in 1800, and the Charity Fund paid his salary as singer of S. R. 90 a month. The Government at the request of the Vestry took this payment upon themselves on the 16th of July 1807. He died on the 11th of May 1808.

Mr. John Grieff, died 11th May 1808, aged 39 years.

Mrs. Catherine Grieff, died 10th May, 1816, aged 32 years.

This monument is erected by their affectionate son *W. G. Grieff*.*

By the 5th of April 1813, 252 children were entirely maintained by the Free School, and about 32 day-scholars were educated with the rest under Dr. Bell's system. By 1817 the number of foundationers had arisen to 205 boys and 92 girls—297 in all.

* In Park Street South Burial Ground.

CHAPTER XIX.

1786 to 1797.

IN previous chapters the general history of the Company's Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment has been carried down to December 1793, when *John Owen*, junior Presidency Chaplain, returned home, his senior colleague being the Revd. T. Blanshard and his immediate successor in the junior Chaplaincy, David Brown, late of the Garrison.

In that month of December 1793 the other Bengal Chaplaincies were served as follows:—

Barrackpore, where John Loftie had been Chaplain since 1791.

Dinapore, where Paul Limrick was both Chaplain and Mathematical School-master. He was immediately transferred to succeed David Brown at the Garrison.

Chunar, where William Lewis had served since 1791.

Berhampore, A. A. Barbor, Chaplain here since 1790.

Fatigarh, where Thomas Clarke had the previous year taken the place of Abraham Thomas Clarke, the unfortunate S. P. C. K. Missionary, who had been admitted upon the Establishment by the Bengal Council by mistake.

Cawnpore, here Robartes Carr had served since December 1791.

David Brown, who becomes the principal figure in the period now reached, was born in the East Riding of Yorkshire of a substantial family of yeomen-farmers. His parents proposed to apprentice him to a druggist; however, in God's providence, at the age of ten or eleven he made the acquaintance of a clergyman of Scarborough, who discerning the lad's natural piety and promise of ability, persuaded his parents to consign him to his guidance with an ultimate view to Holy Orders. This friend educated him first for a couple of years himself; then sent him to the Hull Grammar School. In due time Brown went up to Cambridge, matriculating on the 18th November 1782 at Magdalen College, having been nominated a scholar on the 'Robert's' foundation.

The Revd. Charles Simeon wrote a Memoir of David Brown, and thus sketches his character:—

"A naturally sanguine temperament and high flow of spirits, which appear to have characterized his early youth, softened down under the influence of serious piety to a well directed and persevering zeal for

promoting the knowledge of the Gospel. His religious faith had not darted suddenly into his mind, as the ray of heavenly light which overthrew an opposing soul; but rather as the least of all seeds, had grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength, under the fostering influence, by God's good providence, of pious relatives and early religious instruction; together with a succession of the means of grace as he approached to manhood." On this subject the following recollections have been found among his papers, "Thy goodness, like the sun, dawned on my early days. A godly grandfather who poured out many prayers for me; parents who attended to the instruction given them by the ministers of God; early acquaintance with the Reverend Messrs. William Jesse; Stillingfleet (*a*); Joseph Milner (*b*);—mercies all flowing from my God!"

With a temper so devout and pious, fostered by such ardent disciples of the rising Evangelical school, it was natural he should quickly find himself in close association with the disciples of Charles Simeon at Cambridge. One of his letters to a like minded friend in London, relating to his endeavours to do good among the poor and destitute, was communicated to a Major A. Mitchell of the East India Company's service, who was then interesting himself in the beginnings of the Bengal Military Orphan Asylum. This gentleman, in February 1785, wrote to Mr. Brown, still an undergraduate, offering him the superintendence of the Asylum then at Howrah and stated to have 25 boys and 21 girls, all orphans of Bengal officers, on its foundation. This was a huge mistake; the institution then contained 500 children. Two qualifications were mentioned which as yet were lacking in Mr. Brown, the former being imperative—he must come out married, the latter very desirable—he must be in Holy Orders. A few days only were given him to make up his mind in (the letter was apparently received on February 13th), and should he accept the appointment and the conditions within two months, he would have to embark for India. Urged by his friends, who recognised a divine call in the proposal, he communicated his acceptance of the appointment to Captain Kirkpatrick, Agent and Secretary of the Bengal Orphan Society, then in London. Marriage was arranged and contracted within the specified time, but Ordination was not so easy to accomplish, for Mr. Brown was in his 22nd year, much too young at any rate for the priesthood. His attempts to obtain Ordination are related by himself.

I waited on Dr. Lowth, the Bishop of London, asking to be ordained to go abroad; he answered flatly, that he would never ordain another man to go

(*a*) Rev. James Stillingfleet, of Hotham, Yorkshire.

(*b*) Vicar of North Ferriby and Head of the Hull Grammar School.

abroad; for that he had ordained several for the colonies, who afterwards remained lounging about the town, a disgrace to the cloth. On coming out, I said to my new friend, the Major, 'Well, this business is at an end; to-morrow I return to Cambridge.' He said 'Let us call on the Bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Watson); he is a liberal man, and will give us his advice. We did so; and on his hearing the circumstances of our bad success with my Lord of London, he regretted our disappointment, wished well to the plan, and observed, that, if his Grace of Canterbury saw no impropriety in his ordaining me after having been refused by Dr. Lowth, he would do it most cheerfully; and he advised me to see the Archbishop, which I lost no time in doing, and he most cordially approved my undertaking. I set off for Cambridge the following day for the necessary papers which the Bishop directed me to procure, and with these I again waited, on him the 25th; [*i. e.* of February] but he appearing now to feel some hesitation on the subject, I caught at it, and said, 'my Lord, I am satisfied, I shall return to college; for my views have been to the ministry, and without ordination I shall not go to India, whatever offers are made me.' After a pause, however, he said he would ordain me, and that he would, too, have given me Priest's Orders the day following, if I had been of age to receive them. He appointed the next day for my examination, and ordained me the day after. The Bishop showed me a truly pastoral regard; he knew my principles, my purposes, and my views; he conducted a long and close examination of me himself, and gave me much valuable advice, which has been a great comfort and support to me. His last words were, 'Go in peace, and may the blessing of God go with you. Do all the good you can; and, if it is no better for you in this world, it will be in the world to come.

The events of his remaining life in England he thus briefly summarizes:—

On the 2nd of March I was elected a corresponding member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. From those reverend gentlemen I had presents of books, tracts, &c., and every mark of respect and attention they could shew; and they ordered a recommendatory letter respecting me to be addressed by their Secretary to the Court of Directors. And from that honourable Court I received a considerable pecuniary advance for the expenses of the voyage. Thus every way countenanced and encouraged, I proceeded to India, on the assurance that there would be no impediment to my performing all clerical duties required.

It is probable that the latter remark has reference to his diaconate, if he really sailed without having been ordained a priest. But it may relate to his lack of license from the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London.

The interval before sailing thus briefly alluded to by Brown himself was, through a succession of disappointments, protracted to some months, during which time he appears to have lived mostly at Chelsea with his bride in great poverty, taking occasional duty. The Revd. John Newton,* Vicar of St. Mary, Woolnoth, Lombard Street,

Editor of the 'Olney Hymns' and author of 'How sweet the name of JESUS sounds!'

proposed to him to abandon his purpose of going to India and to accept a curacy under himself. The Revd. Richard Cecil, Incumbent of two benefices at Lewes in Sussex, but then resident at Islington, made him a similar proposition, offering as an alternative to procure him an even more important curacy at Maidley, and, at one time, such were his difficulties in procuring a passage to India, it seemed likely to him that he should be after all compelled to accept one or other of the offers made to him. However, at length the Court of Directors advanced him £315, and he forthwith engaged passages for himself and Mrs. Brown on a British Indiaman. His diary affords abundant comments in the voyage. The following passages introduce the names of his principal friends and patrons:—

On Monday, the 14th of November, we left London accompanied by our sister and the Major: we parted with Mr. Simeon at the Tower, and we reached Gravesend to tea. The fatigue and hurry of this day were very great, but the LORD strengthened my body and composed my mind; I looked unto Him, and He helped me.

15th.—After breakfast, and while writing to my dear Houseman, who should make his appearance but our friend Mr. Simeon! After dinner, I wrote to my two invaluable Lloyds: the rest of the day was spent in getting the cabin in order, &c. I was helped to part from my friends without yielding to a sigh or tear, cheerfully looking to my God for comfort.

The ship seemed to have met unusually bad weather the greater part of the voyage—very seldom did there occur a Sunday on which Divine Service could be held.

The diary, at least so much of it as is incorporated by Mr. Simeon in his 'Memorial Sketches,' contains but few graphic passages: of these, one shows us Mr. Brown in the ship's rigging as high up as he can climb watching the disappearing Lizard and commending thence his friends, the Church of CHRIST, and his country to the 'LORD my Preserver.' Another, Mr. and Mrs. Brown seated together on the quarter deck while he calmly composes his diary and records how a fire has broken out in the fore-castle, of which the alarm has not yet reached his wife. Another discovers him pacing the deck in moody silence on the 26th of December, the goose, turkey, chicken, ham, green peas, &c., &c.,—the ship's Christmas feast,—'yielding him no joy;' (it seems for some reason or another the proper anniversary could not be observed; they were nearing the Canaries). 'Nay,' he says, 'I had determined against being cheerful, since no one would rejoice with me on my Christmas day.'

His young wife appears to have been of a timid disposition, yet of a light-hearted one; she was dancing on the deck on the 17th

January. On the 1st February she gave birth to a son, who was baptized by his father on the 26th of the same month by the name of David Mitchell. No doubt his patron Major Mitchell had promised to be godfather. The mother was, according to her husband, in perfect health again by the 28th.

The portion of Mr. Brown's diary relating to this voyage, preserved by Simeon, bears trace all through of the strongly self-centredness of the writer's type of piety. No doubt this is the natural expression of the religious individualism so characteristic of that famous school of thought and life, of which Simeon was the leader. Thus we hear much of his heart searchings, little about his wife. But then it is but fair to notice that he records that his wife felt comfortable and had charming spirits while he believes no one in the ship suffered nearly so much from sea sickness as himself. 'The Lord,' he remarks, 'knows what is good for me; I do not,' and then describes his sufferings with great fulness. Once a night squall frightened his wife; he, however, was of a firmer faith and stronger mind: he says, 'I committed our souls and bodies into the hands of our faithful Lord, and endeavoured to compose myself to sleep; but my wife's fears kept her awake and restless, and deprived us both of all repose.' And on another similar occasion he writes, 'I slept secure and undisturbed;' and on another, 'my wife was a good deal alarmed for which I chid her a little, I knew we were in the hands of the Lord and not in the hands of men.'

Considering his young wife's condition at the period to which these notices relate, the reader, if he have not inherited as Mr. Brown did a Puritan sternness of mind, will probably set down the young husband's behaviour as much to selfishness as to Christian repose in God. Affection does indeed brighten the diary narrative here and there; once he notes down that his apprehensions on his wife's account 'were most pressing and painful,' but he compassionates himself because he suffers these anxieties. All these incidents, however, disclose a firmness of purpose which all through his career distinguished his character far more signally than any spiritual selfishness, which, indeed, disappears as his course advances. This firmness is illustrated by many boardship incidents: once, for instance, he relates the captain pressed him to take an extra glass of claret but 'with a determined air I told him he might attempt as easily to shake Gibraltar as to *shake me* from my purpose.'

On the Thursday, 8th June 1786, Mr. and Mrs. Brown and their baby reached Calcutta where they were met by letters of welcome from Mr. William Chambers and from the Rev. Mr. Owen, the Chaplain of Fort William Garrison.

Mr. Owen had had a letter from the Revd. Richard Cecil, recommending Brown to his friendship and guidance. In this letter occurs the following passage :—

I have a request of a very particular nature to make in his account; I mean, that if you should on any occasion, observe my friend *off his guard*—drinking in flattery, or on the borders of *offering it*, if any allurements should for a moment draw him down from *walking with God to dwell among men*, I charge you, I conjure you, to remind him that the fine gold is waxing dim, ‘the faithful city near becoming an harlot.’

To do Brown justice it must be admitted that Mr. Cecil quite misjudged his young friend’s failings.

Three days after landing and before taking over formal charge of the Orphan House (which he did on Sunday, June 18th) he received a letter from Captain William Kirkpatrick informing him that he had been appointed Chaplain to the Company’s 6th Battalion then quartered apparently at Fort William; he was thus to share the Garrison duties with Mr. Owen. The appointment was confirmed on the 16th of June. Early in the following year he added to his duties at the Garrison and at the Orphan House at Howrah the charge of the Services of the Mission Church. The venerable Mr. Kiernander was then in the 76th year of his age and the 47th of his mission. The cloud of adversity which darkened his last years with penury and even bankruptcy was gathering upon him. He had written to the S. P. C. K. at home, expressing a wish for retirement. He proposed to return to Europe with his son Robert, and he earnestly solicited the sending out another Missionary, lest his congregation should be dispersed and the Mission Church—still his own private property—closed. Willingly he made over to Brown the charge which he felt was slipping from his aged hands and retired to Chinsurah. The following year, 1787, the impending calamity fell and the Seal of the Sheriff of Calcutta was placed on the door of the Mission Church. The building was not, however, permitted to remain closed for many days. Mr. Charles Grant, a Bengal Civilian and afterwards a Director of the Honourable Company, came forward at once and bought the Church with its school-house and the burying-ground of the Mission for Rs. 10,000 and secured it to the service of religion by making it over, on the 31st of October 1787, to three trustees, himself, Mr. William Chambers, and the officiating minister, Mr. Brown. Thenceforward for 20 years Mr. Brown, assisted at intervals both by Missionaries and Chaplains, held in trust the ministry of ‘The Old Church’ for the benefit of the native Christian community and the poor.

On the 13th March 1788 the Revd. Mr. Owen was promoted to the Presidency Church as junior Chaplain, thus leaving the Garrison Chaplaincy vacant; to this Brown was transferred. He was then Chaplain to the 3rd Brigade, in which office the Revd. Mr. Farrier succeeded him.

The engrossing duties of the Garrison Chaplaincy, together with those at the Mission Church, not to mention the conduct of a boarding school for young Hindoos near the Orphan House* and the elaboration of an extensive Missionary scheme, evidently left Mr. Brown too little time for the management of the Orphan House. The management represented this to him, and as he declined either to diminish his favourite engagements or to resign his Asylum charge, the Managers dismissed him in August 1788.

In a letter to Mr. Simeon at Cambridge written in 1789, Mr. Brown thus speaks of this event :—

By former letters to my friends you will find that I have been dispossessed of the Orphan House on account of preaching at the Church of Calcutta. A hard battle has been fought for me, and wonderfully has the Lord appeared to carry me through the evil reports of persecutors; so that I have only changed, not lost, ground that was necessary to my usefulness. At present I continue to preach at Fort William and at the Mission Church.

On his removal from Howrah the native school he had begun gradually collapsed.

When removed from the Orphan Institution, Mr. Brown received private pupils into his own house, the education of youth being, next to public preaching, that line of usefulness to which he was most attached. Besides managing his domestic school, his educational interests led him to become, even before he was as Presidency Chaplain officially attached thereto, a frequent visitor to the Old Charity School then established at Cossipore. He likewise statedly attended the hospital and gaol to impart religious instruction. At the latter place, particularly, says Mr. Simeon, 'he was, as he had been in England, remarkably blessed to the awakening and unfeigned repentance of hardened convicts, of whom he was accustomed to give touching and instructive narratives.'

On the 20th of April 1787, the baby David-Mitchell died at the Orphan House from the effects of inoculation with smallpox, and in 1789 he lost another son, and afterwards a third under the same dangerous process. A daughter born in 1792 survived it. It is strange

* He had paid Rs. 1,800 for the site and building, which sum Mr. Simeon notes equalled £225.

that neither the baptisms of these children nor the burials of the three boys nor the burial of his first wife, who died early in July 1794, are to be traced in the parish registers at Calcutta.

While Chaplain to the Garrison Mr. Brown developed his plans for his proposed Church of England Mission in North India. And the first step towards the carrying out of this great scheme, in which he apparently hoped to engage the East India Company, was a joint memorial from the Calcutta Clergy to the Governor-General suggesting the setting up of English native schools. [The memorial is given at length in chapter xvi.] Nothing whatever seems to have resulted from the scheme. On Mr. Brown's appointment in December 1793 or January 1794 to the junior Chaplaincy at the Presidency Church, in succession to John Owen, his labours became still more onerous. He continued in spiritual charge of the Garrison, and was always, says Mr. Simeon, unwilling to think that new occasions of duty exonerated him from any former engagements. Accordingly he continued to officiate on Sundays twice in the Mission congregation, once at the Garrison, and once in the Presidency Church; besides establishing a weekly lecture, and catechetical instruction of children, which last he rightly deemed to be a ministry of the greatest importance.

Brown's efforts to promote his North India Missionary scheme were so far seconded by the S. P. C. K. that the Society sent out to him in 1797 the Rev. William Toby Ringeltaube to assist him in carrying on the work of the Calcutta Mission.

A solemn valedictory charge was delivered to Ringeltaube, and to the Revd. Immanuel Gottfried Holzberg commissioned at the same time to South India, at a meeting of the society held in Holborn on the 4th of April, by the Rev. John Owen, retired Bengal Chaplain. Brown received his Missionary colleague with the warmest cordiality; the latter, however, could not settle down to the discouraging labours of a missionary to Bengalis—perhaps, too, he but ill-reconciled himself to the orderly discipline of the Anglican worship; he appears to have been originally a Lutheran. Accordingly after a couple of years work under Brown's superintendence he left the mission. On the 17th May 1800, the Revd. Dr. George Gaskin, Secretary of the S. P. C. K., wrote to Mr. Brown: 'It gave the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge much concern to find that Mr. Ringeltaube had disappointed their expectations and abandoned the Mission to Bengal! . . . He is now altogether connected, I hear, with the Moravians; but how precisely he is occupied I do not know. The Society's efforts with respect to Calcutta have so often failed, that there is little encouragement

to make another attempt there. God grant that means may be discovered, and attempts still executed to introduce to the natives of Bengal the knowledge of Christ as the world's only Saviour !'

However erratic, Mr. Ringeltaube was firmly determined to serve the cause of Christ according to his lights, and appears to have, after a few years of Moravian experience, offered himself to the service of the London Mission, and in 1805 he accompanied its missionaries, Cran and Desgranges, to South India. His two companions commenced the Telugu Mission at Vizagapatam, while Ringeltaube settled in Tinnevely and ministered to the Christian congregations, then of long standing, but which had by that time been practically deserted by the S. P. C. K. Ringeltaube's labours are said by the London Society's Missionaries* to have been "abundant and self-denying, but a strain of eccentricity in him led to uncharitable judgments on the part of critics who should have respected the man for the work he did and not for the garb he wore. He seldom or never had a coat to his back except on one occasion when Colonel Trotter gave him an old one. His temper was irascible and his manner of settling disputes was sharp but satisfactory. In the endless quarrels which took place in his congregation Ringeltaube found that a vigorous application of his walking stick to the backs of refractory Christians gave them, to quote a Tamil phrase, *mula manasu*, a good mind, and soon exorcised the demon of evil temper which sore vexed them. In later times the method has been successful, if we may accept the testimony of a fine old missionary Father of the Roman Catholic Church, who, speaking of his half savage Pariah congregations, used to say, 'What they want is liberty, fraternity, equality and the long bamboo.' Ringeltaube's memory survives that of his detractors, and in missionary history he will occupy a conspicuous place as the founder of the Travancore Mission. William Taylor, who saw him in 1816, describes him as a tall dark man unkempt and rough; and the Revd. M. Thompson, Chaplain of Fort St. George, says that Ringeltaube's appearance was 'wild,' but his conversation most interesting. He was at that time about to put to sea in a most 'ordinary costume,' viz., a straw hat of country manufacture; shirt, trousers and shoes. These were all his worldly effects, and thus equipped he was on his way to begin a mission in Borneo. It is said he was murdered there, but the probability is he died on the voyage thither and was buried at sea. He was suffering from disease of the liver when he started. The place of his sepulchre none knoweth, but his memory was gratefully cherished by thousands of Christians

* See an article in the *Madras Mail*, 1895.

and Hindus in Tinnevely and Travancore, to whom he had been a veritable apostle. His temper was irritable, but then his children in the faith testify that his charity was boundless."

Shortly after Brown's promotion to the Presidency Church an event occurred which long profoundly affected him—the death, on the 27th of April 1794, of the rare scholar and noble Christian gentleman, Sir William Jones, a Judge of the Supreme Court. In a letter on the subject, addressed to one of the Directors of the Company, Brown says: 'Since the death of that good, enlightened, and dear friend, Mr. William Chambers,* I have not felt any thing like the death of Sir William Jones.'

This sorrow was soon to be followed by another and a deeper one. In July 1794, the wife, who had accompanied Mr. Brown from England, died a victim to the gradually exhausting effects of the Bengal climate. Her name, strange to say, cannot be traced. Mr. Simeon says that this bereavement had a lasting depressing effect upon his mind and cast a heavy gloom over all his temporal prospects. Two years later, however, the Parish Register records the following:—

1796, July 19, Revd. David Brown, Clerk, Junior Chaplain of the Presidency of Fort William, widower [married to] Frances Cowley, spinster, [by] Thomas Blanshard, Senior Chaplain.

It is said his late wife had urged the match when she perceived the steady approach of her own death, and, observes Brown himself, 'what her heart approved, mine ought.'

On Thursday, the 29th December 1796, the Presidency Chaplains, Blanshard and Brown, baptized 81 persons at St. John's. On Tuesday, April 14th, 1800, the Presidency Chaplains, Brown and Limrick, baptized 50 persons at St. John's. No allusion to either of these remarkable occasions can be traced anywhere save in the actual register.

The year 1796 saw the inception of a movement which it took many years to carry out into an established result. On the 9th of May the Chaplains at the Presidency, Blanshard, Brown and Limrick, the Garrison Chaplain, applied to the Council† on behalf of themselves and the other Chaplains—then but two—in distant stations, to be granted furloughs and pensions occasionally such as had then recently been granted to army surgeons. They urged in their memorial that it was well known that the salaries of the Company's Chaplains were

* William Chambers, Prothonotary and Persian Interpreter to the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal, died on the 22nd of August 1793.

† Pub. Cons., Mily. Dept., May 16th, 1796.

merely sufficient to support them with decency;—scarcely so if they had families, and that they must on an average come out to India four or five years later in life than surgeons. For pension they suggested £300 a year after 15 or 16 years' service. As regards furlough they point out that the Council had already humanely permitted a sick and infirm Chaplain to go home on furlough with the pay of a surgeon or captain. The reference was to the case of the Revd. John Loftie who had come out as a Chaplain in 1788, retaining his English preferment of the Vicarage of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury. He was granted furlough probably early in 1796 after but eight years' service, returned to Canterbury, where he died on the 17th of November 1800, aged 66.*

The Council recommended to the Court the granting of the prayer of this memorial, and seemed confident in its being granted, for they consented in the following December to the senior Presidency Chaplain, Mr. Blanshard, going home on furlough after 16 years' service, on the allowance of a full surgeon—subject to the ultimate decision of the Court. Mr. Blanshard did not actually sail until Friday, March 10th, 1797. In the long intermediate correspondence preserved in the Military Consultations, it appears that he wished to resign and to date the resignation from his proposed departure from *Madras*. This the Council could not permit. He says he was afraid of being captured by the enemy (the French) in the Bay. In his diary (February 1797) the aged Kiernander comments on this departure; he says Mr. Blanshard sails in an American ship with five lakhs of rupees; and remarks that Mr. Owen had taken two and a half lakhs and Mr. Johnson three and a half lakhs. The vessel in which Mr. Blanshard sailed was wrecked off the French coast, and he was among the lost—there were with him probably Mrs. Martha Gribble, his sister, and three little girls, children of his deceased sister, Charlotte Frazer.

On the departure of Blanshard, Brown was promoted to be senior Presidency Chaplain, and the Revd. Paul Limrick was appointed to the junior Chaplaincy in addition to his Garrison duties. Limrick lived at No. 34, Chowringhee Road, and died in 1810, after having been invalided for about a year. A musical service book printed for St. John's use from engraved copper plates *circa* 1810 contains chants written both by Limrick and his wife. A half length portrait of him in oils is preserved at St. John's. He left a widow and several children. Dr. Ward succeeded him in the junior Chaplaincy.

* At St. Dunstan's churchyard, Canterbury, is a tomb and epitaph to his memory, also to that of his son 'Narborough' who died Dec. 15th, 1792, aged 17, and of his widow Charlotte, who died March 11th, 1834, aged 87.

CHAPTER XX.

1797 to 1800.

BESIDES the five Company's Chaplains there were in 1797 in Bengal at least two clergymen serving as Chaplains to King's Regiments; one of these was the Revd. Donald McKinnon, D.D., who perhaps belonged originally to the Company's establishment. On the 25th of January he wrote to the Council from Benares, where he was 'Acting Chaplain,' requesting to be appointed to one of the Company's vacant Chaplaincies—he preferred that at Ohunar. This petition, which was not granted, is somewhat mysteriously worded; he alludes to the Council's mistake in 1790 in promoting the S. P. C. K. Missionary, Abraham Thomas Clarke, to a Chaplaincy in place of the real nominee of the Court, Thomas Clarke, who had not then arrived in India. He says:—

The Supreme Board in that instance anticipated my removal about a whole year by mistaking the person nominated for my successor and perhaps it may avail itself of the opportunity afforded by the present vacancies of indemnifying me for the loss which I sustained by that anticipation. Let the Honourable Court supersede me again if it thinks proper. Supersession and disappointments fall lighter upon us as we approach near to the Ultimate Tribunal of Appeal.*

This Dr. McKinnon writes again to the Military Department in 1798 (April 18th), when he was Acting Chaplain to H. M. 76th Regiment at Dinapore. The letter is an extremely long one on the subject of the natural instinct of worship, the duty of obeying it, and the need of 'preserving the impression of the Supreme Being,'—all this leading up to a proposal that the Government should build at Dinapore, close to the then lately enlarged burying-ground, a military Chapel in size 150 ft. by 54 ft. with a thatched or tiled roof, to cost Rs. 5,000, and that they should appoint thereto himself as the officiating minister with Rs. 200 a month. To this proposal is appended a dissertation on the anti-religious excesses of the French. The proposal was rejected. Dr. McKinnon is last traced as Chaplain of the 76th Regiment at Allahabad in 1800.

Another Clergyman attached to the King's Troops was William Tenant, LL.D., the well-known author of *Indian Recreations*. Dr. Tenant

* Mily. Dept. Cons. 1797, Feb. 3rd.

sent in a petition to the Military Department, dated Calcutta, 27th February 1797; like Dr. McKinnon he had the idea of supersession in his mind. He represents :—

. . . that your petitioner has had no employment as a Military Chaplain since the 101st Regiment was drafted in September 1795, that several corps of the King's troops have now arrived, and as he is the only Chaplain of His Majesty's nomination at present in the country, he hopes, he will not be superseded in any arrangement that may be thought necessary for providing the troops with a deputy in absence of the Chaplains; that as Colonel Mackenzie has appointed your petitioner to act in the 78th, he does not crave any other allowance or such only as by your Honour's discretion may be deemed necessary.

This Dr. Tenant has written certain severe passages upon the Company's ecclesiastical establishment at this period :—

In Bengal the full complement of Chaplains is only 9; and their acting number seldom exceeds 5 or 6, two of these being always fixed at the Presidency . . . As a necessary result the presence of a clergyman is seldom seen or even expected to solemnize the usual ceremonies of marriages, baptisms, or funerals. Prayers are read sometimes at the stations, where a Chaplain happens to reside; but I have seldom heard of any sermon delivered, except by His Majesty's Chaplains and those at Calcutta . . . Clergymen who engage in all the fashionable dissipations of the country are ill-calculated to support the dignity of religion among their countrymen and little likely to withdraw the natives from their errors.*

It is happily difficult indeed to recognize the justice of these strictures so far as they relate to the personal character of the Chaplains, when it is remembered that among the five or six clergymen, who for some years, as Dr. Tenant says, constituted the whole establishment, were such men of piety and honour as John Owen, David Brown, and Claudius Buchanan.† In the up-country stations there were no Chapels, and as the parade service was celebrated on the open parade ground, it is not unlikely that it was at certain seasons intermitted, and quite blamelessly.

The grievous dearth of clerical ministrations in the upper stations in Bengal received a much more just and charitable comment from a certain Lieutenant White, who, as Mr. Brown (then Garrison Chaplain) narrates in a letter dated 1794, made an earnest representation to the Commander-in-Chief on the subject. He urged :—

. . . the regular worship of God, and the public performance of Divine Service, with preaching at *all* the stations. He proposed additional Chaplains

* *Indian Recreations*, Vol. 1, p. 94.

† See a long and interesting sketch of his career in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

to the Company's complement for considerable places, which now have none to officiate; he said he had been eleven years in the country without having had it in his power to hear the public prayers of the Church above five times, and that, unless places were erected at the different stations for assembling to Divine Service, it must be impossible for Chaplains ever to be able to do their duty, or to assemble the people together.

Mr. Brown proceeds to say that the Commander-in-Chief discussed this letter with him and remarked upon its suggestions:—

I shall certainly recommend places to be made at the stations, and shall desire the General who is going up the country, to take this matter in charge; and if the stations continue as they are (for some change has been intended) to fix on spots where Chapels shall be erected.*

No Chapels were built up-country, but on the 23rd December 1798, the Military Department published a notice in the *Gazette* † that it proposed to provide a Chapel for the garrison of Fort William, for which plans and elevations had already been prepared, and tenders were invited for the construction. Details of the masonry of the intended building are given in the advertisement. The writer has not been able to ascertain anything as to the outcome of the project.

It is somewhat singular, after this, to observe that Dr. McKinnon's proposal in 1798 for building a Chapel at Dinapore should have been summarily rejected. Many years were yet to elapse before any up-country chapels were built.

In 1808 a few High Churchmen in Benares proposed to erect a chapel there, as witness the following letter given in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of June 15th, 1894, which runs as follows:—

“W. ORTON SAIMON, Esq.,
Collector, Benares.

SIR,—I beg leave to inform you that there is a small piece of waste land at the back of my house, near to, and forms a part of the bank of the Burnah river, containing about 2 biggah which was promised to me by the Zemindar named Bulnaut Singh. The rent was settled at 8 annas per biggah per annum. From some motive he now refuses to let me have it. Apparently from a wish to extort more than the real purchase of the said waste uncultivated land; which I cannot afford; and therefore humbly solicit you to grant me a Pottah for the same, in order to erect a place for Divine worship thereon, which will be done by subscription, raised by a few men like unto myself, that we may thereby be enabled to keep the Sabbath holy in this land of idolatry.

* Memorial Sketches, p. 279.

† January 7th, 1799. This was in response perhaps to a Despatch from the Court, dated May 25th, 1798, on the subject of Sunday observance and enjoining on all the servants of the Company regular attendance at the Sunday services.

But that no wrong construction may be put on my intentions, I beg leave to inform you that no schismatic meeting is intended, as myself and my neighbours that assemble on the Sabbath, are of the High Church of England.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your Obedient Humble Servant,

GEORGE WHEATLEY,
Europe Shop-keeper.

Benares, 5th March 1808.

At the close of 1798 there arrived a new Chaplain on the Bengal Establishment, the *Revd. James Ward*, D.D., who reported himself on the 27th of December and was posted to Berhampore, where Dr. Tenant had been officiating. Thence he was transferred in 1800 to Cawnpore. Another came out in 1799, the *Revd. John Hussey*,* who had been Chaplain at the Aleppo Factory. He arrived in March and was posted at once to Fatehgarh, then recently vacated by the *Rev. Thomas Clarke*, gone home on furlough. He never reached his station, however, for he died at Allahabad on the 11th of October on his way up. A tombstone there to his memory gives his age as 48.

John Hussey was the second surviving son of Thomas Hussey, Esq., of Burwash, Sussex, and Ashford, Kent. He was born on the 21st of April, and baptised the 21st of May 1751 at Burwash. In April 1778, after having been for some years connected with a house of business in Ludgate Hill, London, he was matriculated at Hertford College, Oxford, but did not graduate. He was intimate with Johnson, and in Boswell's 'Life' is a letter to him dated December 1778, upon the occasion of his sailing for Aleppo. Returning home he married on the 17th June 1796, at St. Marylebone, a wife, who on the 4th of April following bore him a son. The name of this son as 'the *Rev. John Hussey*, D.D., Rector of Hayes, Kent,' is found on the title-page of a three-volume commentary on the Bible. Hussey with his wife and child sailed for India late in 1798. His widow returned to England and died at Ramsgate in July 1837.

Dr. Ward soon after his appointment gave an example of the energy which characterized his career by writing to the Military Board on the 17th of April 1799 from Berhampore, suggesting the appointment of Church clerks at all Military stations. The Board approved the suggestion, and passed the following resolution which remains operative and unaltered to the present day :—

Resolved according to the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief that at the Military Stations, where Chaplains are present, a fit person, either a

non-commissioned officer or private soldier, be appointed to officiate as clerk to the Chaplain with an allowance of sicca Rs. 12 per month to be drawn in the Chaplain's bill. The person to officiate is to be selected by the Chaplain subject to the approval of the Commanding Officer of the station and his dismissal in case of misconduct or neglect to be by the same authority.*

A few years later this Dr. Ward devised the admirable scheme, which took shape under his guidance under the name of 'the Bengal Military Widows' Fund.' Of this foundation he became the first President. In 1809 he was appointed to officiate as junior Presidency Chaplain, a charge in which he was confirmed in 1810. In 1812 he became senior Presidency Chaplain, and retired on furlough in 1815. A three-quarter length portrait of him in oils is preserved at St. John's. On the last day of 1799 the following was the state of the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment which should have included nine clergymen—

<i>Senior Presidency Chaplaincy</i>	...	Rev. David Brown.
<i>Junior Presidency Chaplaincy</i>	...	Rev. Paul Limrick.
<i>Fort William Garrison</i>	...	Vacant (Rev. P. Limrick offg.).
<i>Barrackpore</i>	...	Rev. Claudius Buchanan.
<i>Dinapore</i>	...	Vacant, but the Rev. Dr. D. Mc. Kinnon officiating for the King's troops there.
<i>Chunar Fort (with Benares)</i>	...	Vacant.
<i>Berhampore</i>	...	Vacant.
<i>Fatehgarh</i>	...	Vacant, but the Rev. S. Ahmuty was Chaplain to the King's troops there.
<i>Cawnpore</i>	...	Rev. James Ward, D.D.

On the 31st of May 1800, Brown proposed to the Select Vestry the establishment of a 'Charitable Fund for the Relief of Distressed Europeans.' The nucleus of this fund was to be the money collected at St. John's on the three great festivals, the money being no longer needed by the Charity School, which the previous month had been amalgamated with the Free School. On the 13th of June, the Select Vestry formally approved the project and established the fund. The original rules for its management are among the Minutes of the Vestry.† The Governor-General approved the scheme, and on the 11th December authorized its formal publication. Subscriptions to this Fund quickly increased and its work became organized into a system, which continued until the 30th of January 1830, when it became

* Mily. Dept. Cons., 1799, April 22nd, No. 4.

† V. M., 1800, p. 79.

enlarged into the 'District Charitable Society,' now flourishing—under a scheme drawn up by Dr. Turner, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

In this same year 1800, on the 18th of August, Brown was made Provost of the new Fort William College, and Claudius Buchanan, Chaplain of Barrackpore, Vice-Provost.

Fort William College was founded by the Company, under the Governor-Generalship of the Marquess Wellesley, for the training of its junior civil servants. As Provost it was Brown's peculiar office, as he himself says, to teach the Christian religion to the students.

Writing of Brown's Provostship, Mr. Simeon says that he superintended with renewed alacrity the heavy duties necessarily attendant on the first formation and arrangement of a collegiate establishment. He looked forward, he says, to the recompense of reward which he desired to obtain—in winning souls to the paths of serious piety from among the youth, brought by this institution, under his especial observation : and it is undeniably true that a striking improvement took place in the moral deportment of the students of the College. Among other means for attaining this advantage, they were induced by its rules to become regular in attendance on the ordinances of religion, which in some of them laid the ground-work of a serious and consistent profession of the Christian faith. The Lord's Table was no longer utterly shunned ; and the whole system of morals was gradually improved. The unprincipled tide of debt was likewise stemmed ; and, as was to be expected, the culture of talents became the prevailing taste.

The Provost conciliated the affectionate respect of the students who were placed under him ; and felt, as was usual with him, more attached to the charge assigned him, the longer he was connected with it. His ardour was great, and his labour incessant for the welfare of the institution, that it might become a real and permanent blessing to the rising generation, and to the country in which it was planted.

It was impossible for him, with this additional responsibility and exact personal attention, to continue the daily labour of performing the occasional offices (or 'surplice duties' as they were called) at the Parish Church (St. John's). These, accordingly, he at this period resigned to Mr. Paul Limrick, the Junior Presidency Chaplain, together with the entire emolument connected with them, for there were then considerable fees taken for all burials, christenings, churchings, and weddings. But this, the most lucrative, was the only branch of his ministerial labour which he did relinquish. His exertions for the two Churches continued unabated ; and it is to be supposed his naturally strong constitution

began to give way, through the uninterrupted labours of twenty years, under an enfeebling climate. Tried as he was by much domestic and private affliction and by many anxieties and mortifications, he had become subject to severe attacks of fever, which often reduced him very low; but his spirit for labour seemed to be renewed every time his strength was restored. At length, however, he was constrained to have some degree of rest from his public exertions, by the decision of the Honourable Court of Directors to contract the sphere of their College of Fort William, and to reduce the scale of its expenditure. Among the offices they saw fit to annul was that of the Provost, which he had held from its institution nearly seven years.

It is but doing justice to his name to state here that no cause whatever was assigned for doing away with the appointment, but that of the determination formed for diminishing the scale of the Institution generally, and of so lessening the number of students to be connected with it as to render the continuance of the higher offices unnecessary.

Brown's public labours therefore became more circumscribed. Increasing infirmities rendered it unsuitable for him to resume those exertions of the 'surplice-duties,' from which his College engagements had withdrawn him. On the appointment of a Chaplain to the Mission Church, the Revd. Thomas-Trubody Thomason, who arrived in August 1808, he obtained an increased cessation, which he long had needed, from over-strained efforts; and salutary leisure seemed within his reach. From the year 1809 he had little occupation in Calcutta besides that which arose from his Chaplaincy and his voluntary assistance in the ministry of the Mission Church. He resided chiefly by the river side in the Danish Settlement of Serampore, at 'Aldeen House,' which he had purchased in April 1803. Here it was that he hospitably entertained Chaplain Henry Martyn, on his arrival and on his departure from India, as narrated in the published journal of that pious and learned man. Brown's labours from 1809 until his death, though assuming a more private and domestic character, continued nevertheless as strenuous as at any former time.

Not only did his rising family demand increased attention (nine children by his second wife survived inoculation, and their baptisms are all duly recorded by their father in the registers), but a new sphere of active usefulness opened to him, in aiding the operations of the Bible and Church Mission Societies in Bengal.

He was the first whom they invited to be their Secretary in Asia, and he exerted for them the same ardour of spirit which had ever characterized him in the cause of the Christian faith : and his labour for them was alike indefatigable and gratuitous.

It was the evident habit of Brown's mind, writes Mr. Simeon, to give as great attention to each successive object, which presented itself in the form of a duty, as if it solely engrossed all his earnestness and anxiety. And yet, when called by the same Providence Who gave to resign the object in pursuit, he did it as entirely, without casting 'one longing, lingering look behind,' as though it had scarce ever excited his solicitude.

In 1812 he became dangerously ill ; and there is no conveying an adequate idea, his biographer assures us, of all he underwent in body and attempted in mind, during the long period of his sickness. At length he consented to go out to sea, as the indispensable and sole remaining remedy for the recovery of his health, but the Indiaman, in which he embarked for Madras, struck on sand in her passage down to the Bay and was wrecked. Thus the trial of a voyage and the favourable effects of the little sea air he did enjoy were frustrated. For though he escaped shipwreck he was brought back to Calcutta under most disadvantageous circumstances, even to sleeping exposed to unsalutary night air on the open deck of the crowded schooner which conveyed him and the other passengers from the grounded vessel. This, together with the want of proper sustenance and comforts necessary to his reduced state, greatly increased his weakness. 'In a word, it pleased God that he should be brought back to the bosom of his family, and be surrounded by the objects of his tenderest love, when his spirit was called hence.'

He was not again conveyed to his own abode, but was received under the hospitable roof of Mr. and Mrs. Harrington at Chowringhee, with a view to his receiving the best medical attention under these disastrous occurrences. 'He never uttered a repining sound that his reluctant and painful effort had been made in vain, but sincerely thought and declared that all was well : even as much so as if the plan had succeeded, according to the wishes and the expectations of his anxious friends, for the restoration of his health and usefulness. His last morning, the 14th of June 1812, was particularly calm, collected, and resigned ; and his last breath spoke thankfulness for the merciful consolations showered down upon him. While in the act of thus expressing his humble gratitude to God and man, he closed

his eyes, and raised his feeble hands, and still moved his lips in inward worship, but his voice was heard no more.' He was only 48 years of age, and left a widow and nine children. Although his emoluments had been very considerable he died a poor man, for his hospitality and his charities had been large. A large sum was at once raised by popular sympathy for the benefit of his family.

His remains were interred in the old (south) Park Street Burying Ground, close to the gateway. Besides the epitaph on his tomb, the following lines, inscribed on a black marble tablet, are to be seen on the walls of the Calcutta Mission Church, the scene of the Ministry he loved best :—

To the Poor the Gospel was preached in this Church

by the REVEREND DAVID BROWN,

Twenty five years.

Obt: ap : Calcutta, 14th June, 1812, æt: 49.



APPENDIX A.

A Prayer for the Honourable and United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies to be used in their factories abroad:—

O Almighty and Most Merciful LORD GOD Thou art the sovereign preserver of all that trust in Thee and the Author of all spiritual and temporal blessings; Let thy grace we most humbly beseech Thee be always present with Thy Servants the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. Compass them with Thy favour as with a shield, prosper them in all their public undertakings and make them successful in all their undertakings both by Sea and Land. Grant that they may prove a common blessing by the means of honour, wealth and power to our native country. Give to us and all Thy servants whom Thy Providence has placed in these remote parts of the world grace to discharge our duties with piety towards Thee our GOD; loyalty towards our King; fidelity and diligence towards those by whom we are employed, kindness and love towards one another and sincere charity towards all men That we adorning the Gospel of our LORD and SAVIOUR in all things, these Indian nations amongst whom we dwell, beholding our good works, may be won over thereby to love our most holy religion and to glorify Thee our FATHER Which art in heaven. All this we beg for the sake of our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST to Whom with Thee and the blessed SPIRIT be ascribed all honour, praise and dominion now and for evermore. Amen.

December 29th, 1698.

We do conceive that this Prayer may be very proper to be used for the purpose expressed in the title of it.

THO. CANTUAR.
II. LONDON.

APPENDIX B.

CHAPLAIN WILLIAM ANDERSON'S SERMONS.

from

Four Sermons preached at Fort William in Bengal, in the East Indies, by William Anderson, Chaplain to the Honourable United Company Trading to the East Indies, London. Printed by E. V. for Thomas Hume, by the South Entrance into the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, 1708. Brit. Mus. 693, d. l—k.

NOTE.—Perhaps never has Calcutta experienced a state of such rancorous faction as that which afflicted the factory in the middle of Queen Anne's reign. To rightly appreciate the scope of the sermon it must be borne in mind that the affairs of the original 'London' E. I. Company were at the time not yet wound up, and its Council still sat in Calcutta: besides this, there was a second Council then lately transferred from Hooghly, that of the old Company's successful rival the 'English' E. I. Company, and also a third called the Council for 'the United Trade' presided over by members of the two former bodies on alternate weeks. As inevitable result of this state of things was that the social and religious discipline of the old Company fell into total neglect. The separate Councils meant rival factions, for the interests of each more or less conflicted with those of the other two, and vested claims or cherished anticipations must have attached to one or other each of the English inhabitants of the settlement. The reader will notice what the preacher has to say on rival 'private interests,' on grudging another's good fortune and on the discord of "the fiends in hell."

To make the confusion more acrimonious, the New Company's dismissed Bengal President, Sir Edward Littleton, a swaggerer and an unscrupulous mischief-maker, was resident in Calcutta, and must have had many interested supporters. He was at open war with each of the Councils.

Extracts from Sir Edward's letters to the 'English' Council are given by Sir Henry Yule in the 2nd Vol. of his "Hedges' Diary." In these he is found denouncing his respectable successor, Mr. Robert Hedges, as "a treacherous, run-away, Irish Villain, Rogue and Thief" whose accounts were "such a bundle of falsehoods, lyes, forgerys, treacherys, villanys, &c., huddled up together as was never before done in one fagot by the most execrable wretche," and elsewhere with reference to Mr. Hedges and to a certain native merchant "I doubt not the . . . took off a cordial comfortable snickeor bowlle of his blood . . . and sent the rest to the lady of the . . . to make her black pudgy dings for breakfast meat." Sir Edward was doubtless exasperated by disgrace; but even after all possible allowance has been made for his astounding ribaldry, we may be pretty sure that its occurrence at all in his business correspondence indicates a prevalent thickness of the social atmosphere with strife and envy and the confusions which, as the sermon urges, they naturally engender. Indeed, the preacher, a gentle soul, might probably have justly castigated these

evil passions as being then notoriously rife more smartly even than he does in his paragraph in the second sermon beginning: "The necessities of human nature," &c.

Two of these sermons are here given as specimens: the former was re-read at St. John's, Calcutta, on Sunday evening, January 24th, 1892, by the writer, then chaplain of the parish—when it was prefaced by the following explanation—

"The author of the discourse, recently discovered in the British Museum, which I am about to read, was the son of a poor English country clergyman,—so poor that he could not send his son to school, but, says an old Latin memorandum, William was instructed *under his father's rod*. This was in the reign of King Charles II.

His first Indian appointment was at Hooghly. In 1704 he was transferred to Calcutta, and this present discourse must have been among his very earliest efforts for the edification of the still disorderly factory of Fort William, for it was printed in London in 1708.

Remember, as you hear it, that his parishioners were men among whom the 'point of honour' was made the frequent excuse for fighting. Ideas of revenge for injuries, real or imaginary, must have been fermenting in the minds of many of the men whom he was addressing, and resentment and spite in those of many of the women.

Remember, too, that he was a man who must have endured much disappointment and personal mortification in the faithful exercise of his ministry; he was, doubtless, admonishing his own conscience in much that he says regarding loving enemies. His colleague—Benjamin Adams—had written sadly of 'the ill-treatment' the Indian clergy met with on all hands: 'sometimes from the opposition of their chiefs, who have no other notion of chaplains but that they are the Company's servants, sent abroad to act for, under, and by them, upon all occasions; and sometimes from the perverseness and refractoriness of others.'

Still Anderson persevered through all, completed the building and obtained the consecration of St. Anne's, the first English Church in Bengal, in 1709. He died, aged 42, probably at sea, on the 30th September, 1711, having been sent for a short voyage in a forlorn hope of recovery, 'being very desperately ill' He left by his will his small savings to his little daughter Elizabeth. His wife had died here before him, and four of his sermons, 'all fairly written,' as he says in his will, to his mother.

The temper of the times in which he preached, as well as his own spiritual experience, is mirrored in this sermon."

SERMON I.

Matthew V, 44.

'BUT I SAY UNTO YOU, LOVE YOUR ENEMIES.'

The context runs thus—

Ye have heard that it hath been said thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thy enemy; but I say unto you love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.

The Law given to the Jews by Moses, though it was the best that people could then bear, yet it fell far enough short of perfection, as our Saviour duly demonstrates in this excellent sermon upon the Mount, where his great design being to give a much higher and more perfect Institution of life and manners than then was; he first recites the precepts of the moral law under the old dispensation, and then shows how much further they were to be carried, and what improvements were to be made of them under the new. "Ye have heard that it hath been said thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thy enemy; but I say unto you love your enemies."

That the Jews were required to love their neighbour will admit of no dispute, for 'tis expressly commanded, Lev. xix., 18. All the question is how this latter part of hating enemies came to obtain its authority amongst them. There is but one passage from whence this mistake could arise, and it is this: in the 7th of Deut. they are forbid to contract any friendship or affinity with those seven nations that bordered immediately upon the country where they lived; they were neither to spare or pity them. Now the reason of this uncommon severity towards these nations was plain and obvious; for, as their idolatrous worship and the strange and monstrous dissolution (*sic*) of their manners was seen to be a snare to a people that were apt to be led by example, and yield to every little temptation; so the measure of their iniquity was filled up, and made them ripe for destruction. This then being a very extraordinary case, the Commandment given upon it was not to be carried beyond the reason of the thing; and yet the Jews partly from heroism (?) and partly from the great value they set upon themselves, as being the chosen people of God, took upon them to hate and despise all the world besides, to esteem them enemies, and treat them as such. This was a most pernicious error, and well deserved to be corrected: which our Saviour accordingly does in the words of the text. "But I say unto you love your enemies"

There are some in this world that look upon this Command of Loving Enemies as too rigid and severe, and are apt to cry out against it as the disciples did once upon another occasion "This is a hard saying who can bear it." If they can forgive injuries so far as not to revenge them, they think 'tis very well. But to talk of returning good for evil, and which is more, of loving those that hate us and not only have done us all the mischief that lies in their power, but would do us more if they could, sounds like a paradox in their ears, and will by no means go down with them.

But after all the complaints that are usually made against the severity of this Command and the difficulty of complying with it, I hope it shall appear in the sequel of this discourse that besides that it is reasonable in itself and necessary to our tolerable living in this world, it is also highly conducive to the ease and pleasure, the quiet and satisfaction of the mind. In order to this I shall,—

First show what is the true import of this Command of Loving Enemies, and,—

Secondly, offer some motives to induce men to the practice of this duty.

First then I am to show what is the true import of this Command, and here it will be requisite to enquire—

First negatively what it does not, and then positively what it does import.

First negatively, when we are required to love our enemies 'tis not to be imagined in the first place that we love them as such or because they are enemies. The enmity which another bears us can never be a reason why we should love him, for enmity is not only an ill quality in itself, but one of the worst one can have with respect to others. Inasmuch while he continues to be an enemy its neither reasonable nor possible that he should be dear to us, as he would be if he had not that ill quality. We may love a man so far as to desire his good upon all accounts though he be an enemy, but 'tis certain if he were not an enemy we should like him so much the better. And from hence it will follow, in the second place, that this Command of Loving Enemies does not give them a title to an equal share in our affections with our intimate bosom friends, nor hinder us from making some distinction between them: for he, that is our enemy, is in a state of sin, and this consideration if we have that regard for virtue and abhorrence for vice, which we ought to have, cannot but lessen him in our esteem. Whereas he that is our friend is so upon a principle of virtue; he is what he ought to be, and acts upon the perfection of his own nature, as well as in conformity with the will of God, so that not to prefer him in our thoughts to one who wants the good qualities he is possessed of, would be to deny him that to which he has a just claim by the laws both of God and Nature. In the third and last place this Command of Loving Enemies does not oblige us to treat them with that openness and freedom, which we are wont to use towards our friends. 'Tis neither prudent nor safe to take a man into our bosom, so long as his enmity lasts, for that might give him such advantages that he would improve to very ill-purposes, and put it into his power to do us so much the more mischief, and we know our Saviour requires us to be as wise as serpents as well as harmless as doves. But I proceed.

Secondly, to show what this Command does import. The love then we owe our enemies by virtue of this Command is properly the love of benevolence, or a readiness to do them good in all respects, especially as they are under the unhappy circumstance of being our enemies. And this I gather from the words immediately following those of the text: "Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you;" all which as it is virtually implied in the general command of loving enemies, so it seems to have been added by our Saviour, with no other design than to explain his meaning and render it more intelligible, so that the command of loving enemies implies these three things.

First, that we are to give them good words, to be civil and obliging, kind and affable towards them. "Bless them that curse you," says our Saviour, that is though our enemies are sometimes so unreasonable that they will not afford us a good word either to our faces or behind our backs, yet we ought not to treat them at this rate, but whether we converse with them personally we are to do it in a civil and courteous manner; or whether we have occasion of speaking to others concerning them we must be so just to them as not to detract from them; and if we cannot avoid mentioning their faults, we should be careful at the same time to say all the good we know of them, and so leave the one to balance the other as far as we reasonably may.

Secondly, that we are to do them all the good offices we are able as occasion may require. "If thy enemy hunger feed him, if he thirst give him drink, for in

so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on thy (*sic*) head," an allusion to the art of melting the hardest kinds of metal: which is done by putting fire on the top as well as under the vessel when the operation is made. An enemy may be grown so inflexible and inveterate as to resist all other methods of reconciliation; but this of heaping favours upon him and following him with kindness and friendship, will overcome him and melt it down, in spite of his enmity, and almost whether he will or no. And this is what our Saviour means when he commands us to do good to them that hate us.

Thirdly and lastly, that besides our using our earnest endeavours, by all the wise and prudent methods we can think of, to convince them of their error and to bring them to a better frame of mind; that besides and beyond all this we are to pray to God for them, humbly presenting our petitions to the throne of Grace on their behalf. "Pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you"—a most elevated, heroic pitch of charity, and the most powerfully recommended to us withal, even by the example as well as the command of the Son of God himself. And thus I have shown what is the true import of this Command of Loving Enemies. But alas! men do not want so much to be told what it is, as to be convinced of the reasonableness and necessity of putting it in practice, and it was well if anything that can be said would persuade them to it. Give me leave then under the third head of my discourse, to offer some of the best motives I can think of to persuade us all to the serious practice of this duty and—

First, we are to consider that the forgiving injuries and not seeking to revenge them is a rational, manly virtue. If a fool or a madman should out of a freakish humour do any of us a mischief, would we think of revenging such an injury? We might pity the miserable circumstance of such a poor creature, but we would never so far unman ourselves as to seek for revenge. Why, every man that is at enmity with another is in that particular instance mad, and beside himself: that is, that he acts unreasonably, and from suggestions of a distempered and overheated brain. So that we should forgive injuries and forbear to return them, if for no other reason than from pure strength and generosity of mind; as we would avoid and scorn the doing of anything that is below the dignity and perfection of human nature.

Secondly, it is necessary to our tolerable living in the world. So long as the world continues to be what it is, there will be injuries of one kind or another always crowding in upon us from every quarter; and he that thinks he is obliged to resent all that come, will have enough to do, so that he must either put up with some injuries, or he will have more work upon his hands than he can turn himself to. Nay, any one injury closely pursued may be enough to disturb a man's whole life. For every act of revenge is a fresh provocative, and if the contending parties are both of the same absolute temper, there will be nothing but revenge upon revenge: one following upon the heels of another and still rising higher and higher as the progress is made till at last they grow weary of the contest, and wish it had never been begun. And why should men begin that which they know not when or where it will end? Besides I believe there are very few men so unreasonable as to resolve that the quarrels they have once taken up shall last always; and if so, then there must be some acts of oblivion and forgiveness passed at some time or other; and why cannot this be done as well at first as at last. For the longer

ho enmity lasts, the more injuries are received on both sides; whereas the wisdom of an early forgiveness would have cut off that long train of evils and inconvenience which have followed for want of it.

Thirdly, the practice of this duty yields great pleasure and satisfaction to the mind. A man is always the best pleased when he is pleased with himself and his actions; when he can look into himself and find all calm and serene and quiet there; and this is the case of him that is of a meek and charitable and forgiving temper. No rude assaults from without can make any lasting impression upon him, because he does not suffer his resentments to govern him, but governs his resentments. The remembrance of the merciful and generous return he has made to the ill-usage and hard measure that has been dealt to him by others is often springing up in his mind, and as often as it does so, it affords him a fresh pleasure, and is over new and entertaining. Above all, the conquest he has gained over himself, over those unruly passions; the wise and regular management whereof is the very top and perfection of all virtue: this, I say, is such a matter of joy and triumph to him that he would not forego the thoughts of it if he were to gain a world by it. But, on the contrary, it is quite otherwise with the revengeful man. The very meditating on revenge gives him a great deal of uneasiness; it foment and boils up within him and puts him on a continued rack all the time, till his designs are brought about; and then when he expects to reap all the pleasure of his revenge, how miserably does he find himself deceived. For what looked so fair and promising at a distance appears now in another shape and hue: it startles and affrights him like his evil genius and always haunts him with black and dismal apprehensions of that Divine Vengeance which will one day overtake them.

Fourthly and lastly, let us consider that the practice of this duty makes us like to God and gives us the glorious privilege of being his children. And I have reserved this argument until the last place because it is what our Saviour makes use of to enforce the Command given in the text, after which it follows, verse 45. "That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, for he maketh His sun to shine on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." Some of the Divine perfections are inimitable, and we can never make the least approach towards them; but the goodness of God, as it is the most imitable of all his perfections, so the imitation of it is to be particularly recommended to us as that which does in a peculiar manner entitle us to that glorious and happy state to which we all hope one day to be admitted.

I shall add no more but close up all with our Saviour's own words. "Be ye therefore merciful as your Father also is merciful." Now unto the King Eternal, Immortal, Invisible, the only wise God, be Honour and Glory for ever and ever. Amen.

SERMON II.

WHERE ENVYING AND STRIFE IS, THERE IS CONFUSION AND EVERY EVIL WORK.—ST. JAMES III, 16.

Strife and Envy! two as great plagues as can enter Hell itself! 'Twas the devil's *envy* and his pride together that lost him Heaven; it was this that prompted him to seduce our first parents, and still makes him what he is, the great adversary of mankind. In a word, the kingdom of darkness was originally founded

upon *envy*, and by *envy* it is chiefly carried on. For the devil never does his work more effectually, nor with better chances than when he makes men the instruments of ruining each other: which he does by sowing the seeds of *envy*, and *hatred* and *discord* amongst them. *Divide et impera* is a maxim that will never fail him, and he knows it too well not to make use of it. *For where envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work.*

What we translate *envying* here and elsewhere seems to have somewhat a different signification in the original. The word is *Zélou*, which when it is used in an ill-sense, as it is here, signifies a violent, hot, fierce disposition of mind. But because nothing creates feuds and animosities amongst men so much as *envy*, therefore I chuse to stick to our own translation, taking the word in as large a sense as it will bear. 'Tis observable in the Apostolic writings that *envy* and *strife* are frequently joined together, and there is a very good reason to be given for it, for they commonly go together, the one being a natural consequence of the other. So I shall not distinguish them, but handle them jointly. Here, then, the Apostle affirms two things concerning *strife* and *envy* which shall be the heads of my following discourse—

First—That they are very pernicious to human society by subverting all that order and harmony and mutual agreement among men, which is so necessary to the happiness of their lives. *Where envying and strife is, there is confusion*; and *secondly*—That they prompt and lead the way to all sorts of wickedness: *where envying and strife is, there is not only confusion, but every evil work.*

The first thing that the Apostle affirms concerning *strife* and *envy* is that they are very pernicious to human society by subverting all that order and harmony, and mutual agreement among men, which is so necessary to the happiness of their lives. *Envy* is a base, narrow, selfish principle, and wherever it enters it presently breaks and divides men into parties and factions. And because the envious man is one that hates to see any other man rise above him, or so much as come near him in what he esteems valuable or praiseworthy. Therefore, so many as are tainted with this low principle, so many real, distinct factions are there in every society. And though some of these may combine together in one interest and some in another, yet these very men shall still have these divisions amongst themselves, and bear no good will to one another in their hearts. It may be, here is some old grudge in the case; or perhaps they have some little private interest to pursue, and a very small thing if it be a matter of interest, shall set them at variance and breed envyings and heart-burnings and animosities amongst them. In short, there can be no harmony, no agreement among men where *envy* grows; this the Apostle intimates by joining *envy* and *strife* together. *Where envy is, there will be strife.* And where *strife* and *envy* both are, there can be nothing that is orderly and regular, but quite the contrary—much disorder and confusion.

The necessities of human nature oblige men to draw together and unite in societies, and the main support of all society is good government, but there can be no government without subordination; that is to say, that it is necessary that some men should be masters and some servants, some superiors and some inferiors. Now *strife* and *envy* do in a great measure cancel these relations, so far, I mean, as to render them useless and insignificant. For while the men of fortune or condition are striving who shall be uppermost and carry the sway, every one endeavouring to strengthen himself by drawing the greatest numbers to his side. Men of

loose principles and wicked lives will be seen to take the advantage they will soon cast off all restraints and live and act as they please. And what a fair advance is here towards anarchy and confusion. For commonly the first step that such men take is to lay aside that duty and respect that they owe to their brothers; then it is but one step further to fly in the face of authority, whether civil or sacred. But this is not all, for if lies and slanders, calumny and defamation will serve a turn and promote the interest of a cause, there will be found the proper instruments for the carrying on of such base designs: for we know dirty people are always the fittest for dirty work. And what a miserable, distracted state of things this must be when wicked men are not only allowed but encouraged in their evil practises? And so much for the first thing that the Apostle affirms concerning *strife* and *envy*; they are very pernicious to human society by subverting all that order and harmony and mutual agreement among men, which is so necessary to the happiness of their lives. *Where envying and strife is, there is confusion.*

But, *secondly*, as *envy* and *strife* either singly or together do bring great disorders into the societies of men, so they prompt and lead the way to all sorts of wickedness. *For where envy and strife is, there is not only confusion, but every evil work.* What a deal of mischief has envy done in all ages of the world. In the very infancy of the world, when mankind was but one family, and there were but two brothers in that family, at least we read of no more, *envy* slew one of them. If we did not know the story we should be apt to suspect that Cain had some mighty provocation given him that could tempt him to commit so unnatural and barbarous a action, and yet the fault lay all at his own door. *Abel's* crime was his virtue,—the uprightness and integrity of his heart, for the sake of which God accepted his offering, and for the want of it rejected that of Cain as we read Gen. 4-6-7: *And the LORD said into Cain, why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance fallen? If thou doest well shall not thou be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin or the punishment of sin lieth at the door. And into thee shall his desire and thou shalt rule over him.* Here was encouragement enough given him to become a better man, and this would have restored him to the favour of God, which was what he *envied* his brother for, as having a larger share of it than himself. But instead of that, he resolved to go a shorter way to work, though he only prolonged his own misery by it. *Envy* had rendered his brother so hateful to him that he could not bear the sight of him: so to get rid of that uneasy passion, he imbrues his hands in his blood, and draws the guilt of it upon his own head. For Divine vengeance immediately pursues him. He is banished from the presence of God and his native country at once, and condemned to wander as a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth. Another instance of this kind we have in the history of *Joseph* and his brethren. St. Stephen observes in the 7th of the Acts that the patriarchs were moved with *envy* when they sold *Joseph* into *Egypt*. Now this *envy* of theirs against him arose partly from his having a more ordinary share of his father's affections and partly from the signification of his dream which they looked upon as presages of his future advancement. But see to what a pernicious height their resentments were carried. *Jacob* sends his son *Joseph*, then but a youth, to his brethren who were feeding their father's flock in the neighbouring country, to see how it fared with them. This gave them a wished-for opportunity of revenging the quarrel they had against him,—an opportunity which they could

not have had while they were under their father's eye, and they improved it accordingly; for they no sooner discerned him coming towards them, but they laid their heads together and consulted how they might kill him and conceal his blood. One of them, indeed, dissuaded them from having an immediate hand in shedding his blood, so they concluded to cast him into a pit intending to leave him there to starve in the wilderness. And yet this also God was pleased to divert them from, Whose good Providence had so ordered it that a caravan of *Midianitish* merchants who were carrying spicery down into *Egypt* should pass by at that very point of time when *Joseph's* brethren were contriving to take away his life. To these merchants was poor *Joseph* sold as a slave for an inconsiderable sum of money. A lively instance to show us how envy and hatred, where they have once taken deep root, will extinguish all that is tender and compassionate in human nature. For if there had been no natural affection in the case, his youth might have pleaded for him—nay, it seems that he besought them in the very anguish of his soul, and we may be sure that he would beg very hard when his life and liberty were at stake. But neither his youth nor his earnest cries and entreaties (and there is a strange rhetoric in tears) could at all move them from so cruel a purpose; but resolved they were to despatch him out of the way; and, to cover what they had done, they frame a plausible lie and persuade the good old man to believe it.

It were easy to multiply examples to this purpose. What sad destruction did the rebellion of *Korah* and his company bring with it? And what was it occasioned that rebellion, but the envy of those men against *Aaron* and his sons, for having the priesthood conferred upon them, an honour which they wanted to be possessed of themselves, when at the same time they knew it was vested in that same family by the special designation and appointment of God himself.

What cruel hard usage did *David* meet with at the hands of *Saul*? and all for a little popular breath. It is true the comparison between *Saul* having slain his thousands, and *David* his ten thousands, might have been spared in point of decorum. But besides that so extraordinary an achievement as that of killing the great champion of the Philistines' army, might very well admit of some lofty strains in a poetical way; where was the reason or justice of being displeased with *David* for a thing which, if it had been a real fault, yet was none of his, nor in his power, to prevent? But so it was *David's* praises had so ill a sound in *Saul's* ears, and immediately filled him with envy to such a degree that from that day forward he became his mortal and implacable enemy.

To conclude this point. The most notorious example of all others from whence we may learn how superlative a degree of wickedness envy will carry a man to was that of the Jewish Sanhedrim, who rejected the Saviour of the world and delivered him up to the *Roman* power to be put to death purely out of envy. For besides that they were jealous of the great reputation which his miracles had gained amongst the people, his doctrine was too pure and his example too holy and good for them to endure either the one or the other. This the governor was so sensible of (for he knew that for envy they had delivered Him) that he would fain have acquitted him and took some pains to do it. But an enraged multitude, headed by furious mad zealots, like an impetuous torrent bears down all before it; 'twas now become dangerous to oppose them, so *Pilate* preferred his present

safety to the future testimony of a good conscience, yields to those importunate clamours, and condemns the Lord of Life to a shameful and ignominious death.

And now that we may avoid these evil consequences which I have hitherto been discoursing of, let us all endeavour after such dispositions of mine as may comport with the wise design of the Creator in making man a sociable creature; which was that we might not only administer to the necessities but the ease and comfort, and happiness of each other's lives, while we continue together in this mortal state.

First.—Then let us learn to be humble and think soberly and modestly of ourselves and fairly and equitably of others, according to that of the Apostle. Phil. 2, 3, 4, *In lowliness of mind let each esteem other better than themselves. Look not every man to his own things, but every man also to the things of others.* We are too apt to overrate our own acquisitions or endowments and to undervalue those of others. And this is one reason why men are so envious at each other's prosperity or advancement or reputation in the world. Whereas if we would but weigh things in a just balance, we should be convinced that the difference of men's fortunes is, for the most part, owing to some real difference in the education or industry or natural endowments of one man above another. Sometimes, indeed, it plainly appears to be otherwise: but then we are to resolve all that into the wisdom of Divine Providence. For we may be sure that God has wise and good reasons for everything. He does, though at present we cannot comprehend them, and we must not pretend to the least degree of humility, if we cannot cheerfully acquiesce in the disposal of an infinitely wise and good Providence.

Secondly.—Let us have fervent charity amongst ourselves; one excellent property whereof is that it destroys this bitter root of *envy*; charity saith the Apostle *envieth not*. And indeed what can be plainer? who ever envied happiness of one whom he had an hearty affection for? No, certainly; where love is, there is no room for envy. Let us but love one another as we ought to do, and then we shall be so far from grudging and repining at the good of others, or taking any pleasure in their misfortunes, that on the contrary we shall *rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep*. That is to say we shall sympathise, and be mutually affected with each other's condition whether in prosperity or adversity.

Thirdly and lastly let us use our utmost endeavours to acquire a peaceable temper of mind. This is so necessary to the well-being of all bodie's or communities of men, that without it society would be a curse and not a blessing. Something like this we see amongst other creatures, such as are harmless and unoffensive commonly herd together in flocks, but such as are fierce and cruel and live by preying upon other kinds, do naturally divide one from another. In truth a man that is of a quarrelsome, contentious, turbulent disposition, has nothing so like in him in this visible world as a beast of prey, and deserves as well to be chased and driven out of human society. What a miserable thing it must be to live among men that are always either openly quarrelling and wrangling and contending, or secretly undermining and supplanting one another. This is like the fiends in Hell, those accursed spirits who agree in nothing unless it be in doing mischief; but are everlastingly embroiled in feuds and discords. Instead of order, there is nothing but mutiny and tumult and uproar among them; and so they become

perpetual plagues and torments to one another. On the contrary, as the *Psalmist speaks*. *How good and how pleasant is it for brethren to dwell together in unity.* What a happy state must it be, what a heaven upon earth when men are firmly united together in the bonds of love, when they have no other contentions among them but who shall be most obliging, and who shall outdo another in offices of kindness and humanity. This is to imitate the life of the blessed Saints and Angels above. There is no such thing as discord among them, nothing to break or discompose the mutual harmony and agreement of those heavenly minds; but they are inseparably linked together by the strongest and most lasting ties of love and friendship.

Wherefore, as we hope ever to arrive at those peaceful happy regions where they are, let it be constantly aspiring to attain that quiet gentle and peaceable temper of mind which our holy religion does so frequently inculcate upon us. *Be of one mind*, says the Apostle, *live in peace*; again, *be at peace among yourselves*. So again we are commanded to *follow after the things that make for peace, and to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*.

I shall conclude all with an exhortation of the same Apostle: *Now I beseech you brethren, mark those which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine, which we have learned and avoid them. If it be possible as much as lyeth in you live peaceably with all men. And the peace of God which passes all understanding shall keep your hearts and minds through Jesus Christ to Whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.*

APPENDIX C.

ABSTRACT OF THE CHURCH REGISTERS DESTROYED IN THE
SACK OF CALCUTTA.*From the returns preserved at the India Office.*

<i>Year, begin- ning on Lady Day.</i>	<i>Baptisms.</i>	<i>Marriages.</i>	<i>Burials.</i>	
1713	3*	3*	31*	* From August 14th only.
1714	9	7	57	
1715	5	4	49	
1716	7	3	87	
1717	7*	2*	64	
1718	<i>Nil.</i>	<i>Nil.</i>	66	* Returns only to October.
1719	<i>Nil.</i>	<i>Nil.</i>	68	
1720	<i>Nil.</i>	<i>Nil.</i>	55	
1721	4	1	32	
1722	6	15	64	
1723	{ 3 & 1 "births." }	12	45	
1724	10 "births."	3	57	
1725	{ 8 "births," & 4 "baptisms." }	7	76	
1726	13*	16	93	
1727	20	14	76	
1728	15	15	93	* From September.
1729	15	16	117	
1730	14	10	95	
1731	17	14	100	
1732	15	14	70	
1733	15	11	67	
1734	6	10	81	
1735	11	12	65	
1736	14	7	57	
1737	13	14	101	
1738	7	3	87	* December omitted.
1739	9	12	39	
1740	7	5	56	
1741	5	4	65*	
1742	8	7	82	
1743	10	6	74	* February and half of March omitted.
1744	11	7	121	
1745	14	7	90	
1746	11	12	128*	
1747	12	5	137	
1748	19	10	117	* To 31st December only.
1749	22	30	95	
1750	24	30	68	
1751	9*	13*	74*	
<i>Year begin- ning on 1st January.</i>				
1752	25	22	91	* To 20th February only.
1753	7	23	77	
1754	14	13	85	
1755	18	15	72	
1756	2*	3*	6*	

APPENDIX D.

LIST OF THE BLACK-HOLE VICTIMS.*

20th-21st, 1756.

Being the lists given by Holwell in the EPITAPH shown in his plate of the Black-Hole Monument and in an Appendix to his "GENUINE NARRATIVE" revised and with the Christian Names added.

Note.—Ep.—Epitaph.

Apx.—Appendix.

E.S.—Calcutta Mayor's Court, Ecclesiastical Suits. The numbers following these initials are those endorsed on the petitions, &c., relative to the administration of the deceased's estates in 1757 & 1758 [in cases where the documents could not be found, April, 1899, the references have been supplied from the official Index].

Of Council.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1. EDWARD EYRE, ESQ. | Member of Council, 21st December 1752; Military Store-keeper, 28th August 1755. |
| 2. WILLIAM BAILLIE, ESQ. | Member of Council, 24th November 1755, E. S. 20. |

Chaplain.

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| 3. GERVAS BELLAMY | ... Senior Chaplain. Arrived 22nd August 1726. "Jervas" in Ep. & Apx. E. S. 17. |
|-------------------|---|

Civil Servants.

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 4. JOHN JENKS | ... E. S. 95. "Of Cossimbazar" in will. |
| 5. ROGER REVELLEY | ... "Reevelly" in Ep. "Revely" in Apx. E. S. 148. (& vide 95). |
| 6. JOHN LAW | ... E. S. 114. |
| 7. THOMAS COALES | ... Junior Merchant; Militia Ensign, November 20th, 1752; Accountant-general of the Mayor's Court, January 4th, 1754. Sheriff, 1755, "Coates" in Ep. |
| 8. JAMES VALICOURT | ... Junior Merchant; Sheriff, 1752; Alderman, 6th December 1753 and in 1755. "Nalicourt" in Ep. E. S. 182. |
| 9. JOHN JEBB | ... Writer. "Jeb" in Apx. E. S. 98, "Merchant" in petition. |
| 10. RICHARD TORIANO | ... Writer. Arrived 4th August 1755. "Torriano" in Ep. E. S. 176. |

* Communicated by the writer to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, July 1899.

11. EDWARD PAGE ... Writer. Arrived 10th June 1754. E. S. 139.
12. STEPHEN PAGE ... Writer. Arrived 5th September 1754. E. S. 142.
13. WILLIAM GRUBB ... Writer. Arrived 7th October 1754. "Grub" in Ep. & Apx. E. S. 81.
14. JOHN STREET ... Writer. E. S. 168.
15. AYLMER HAROD ... Writer. E. S. 267.
16. PATRICK JOHNSTONE ... Writer. Arrived 17th October 1754.
17. GEORGE BALLARD ... Writer. Arrived 4th August 1755. E. S. 214.
18. NATHAN DRAKE ... Writer. E. S. 58.
19. JOHN CARSE ... Writer. E. S. 40.
20. WILLIAM KNAPTON ... Writer. Arrived 4th August 1755. E. S. 108.
21. FRANCIS GOSLING ... Writer. Arrived 5th September 1754. "Gostlin" in E. S. 83.
22. ROBERT BYNG ... Writer. Arrived 20th August 1754. "Bing" in Apx. Name omitted in Ep.
23. JOHN DODD ... Writer. Arrived 4th August 1755. "Dod" in Ep. & Apx. E. S. 57 "Merchant" in petition.
24. STAIR DALRYMPLE ... Writer. E. S. 52.

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Military Captains.

25. DAVID CLAYTON ... E. S. 36.
26. JOHN BUCHANAN ... Capt., 3rd June 1754. Mr. Warren Hastings married his widow Mary, E. S. 217.
27. LAWRENCE WITHERINGTON ... Capt., 2nd November 1755, of Artillery 27th November E. S. 191.

Lieutenants.

28. RICHARD BISHOP ... E. S. 15.
29. FRANCIS HAYS ... Lieut. of Artillery, 6th January 1755. "Hayes" in minute of appointment. E. S. 270.
30. THOMAS BLAGG ... Lieut., 5th December 1753.
31. COLLIN SIMPSON ... Lieut., 29th September 1755, E. S. 169.
32. JOHN BELLAMY ... Lieut., 1753 (?) Son of the Senior Chaplain, E. S. 16.

Ensigns.

33. JOHN FRANCIS PACHARD ... Ensign 10th January 1733. "Paccard" in Ep. and Apx. E. S. 146.
34. WILLIAM SCOTT ... Appointed Quartermaster, 3rd June 1754, E. S. 412 (?)
35. HENRY HASTINGS ... Ensign 29th Sept. 1755, E. S. 92 (?)
36. CHARLES WEDDERBURN ... E. S. 339.
37. WILLIAM DUMBLETON ... Ensign of Militia; Notary-Public and Registrar of the Mayor's Court, E. S. 53.

•

Sergeants of Militia.

38. BERNARD ABRAHAM ... Sergeant-major. Name omitted in Ep. E. S. 5.
39. WILLIAM CARTWRIGHT ... Quartermaster Sergeant. Name omitted in Ep. E. S. 37.
40. JACOB BLEAU ... Name omitted in Ep. "Blew" in E. S. 21.

Sea-Captains

41. HENRY (?) HUNT ... Cf. Court Minutes, Vol. 65, p. 548.
 42. MICHAEL OSBORNE ... "Osburn" in Ep. "Osburne" in Apx. E. S. 299,
 "Sailmaker" in petition.
 43. THOMAS PURNELL ... "Purnel" in Ep. Survived the night, but died next
 day.

Messieurs.

44. PETER CÂREY ... "Cary" in E. S. 38.
 45. THOMAS LEECH ... Company's Smith and Parish Clerk, E. S. 115.
 46. FRANCIS STEVENSON ... "Stephenson" in Apx., E. S. 165.
 47. JAMES GUY ... E. S. 82.
 48. JAMES PORTER ... E. S. 138.
 49. WILLIAM PARKER ... E. S. 144.
 50. CAULKER ...
 51. BENDALL ... "Bendol" in Ep.
 52. ATKINSON ...
 "Who, with sundry other Inhabitants, Military and
 "Militia to the Number of 123 Persons, were by the Tyrannic Violence of Surajud
 "Dowla, Suba of Bengal, suffocated in the Black Hole Prison of Fort William in the
 "Night of the 20th Day of June 1756, and promiscuously thrown the succeeding Morn-
 "ing into the Ditch of the Ravelin of this Place."
 "This Monument is Erected By their Surviving Fellow Sufferer J. Z. HOL-
 "WELL."—*Epitaph.*

APPENDIX E.
Table of the services of Chaplains on the Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment from 1788 to the end of the Century.

PRESIDENCY.		Six Stations which became quasi district parishes on August 11th, 1788.						
Senior.	Junior.	PORT WILLIAM GARRISON.	BARRACKPORE.	DINAPORE.	CHITGAR.	BERHANPORE.	FATIGARR.	CAWNPORE.
788	Thos. Blandshard.	David Brown	Robartes Carr	William Lewis	Vacant	Farrier.	Vacant	{ A. A. Barbor, from March
1789	Do.	Do.	Do.	John Lottie	{ Paul Limrick	Donald Mackinnon, D.D.	{ A. A. Barbor	Do.
1790	Do.	Do.	Wm. Lewis	Do.	Donald Mackinnon, D.D.	A. A. Barbor	Paul Limrick	Wm. Lewis from Mar.?
1791	Do.	Do.	{ John Lottie.	{ Paul Limrick	{ Abr. Thos. Clarke.	Do.	{ Abr. Thos. Clarke.	Do.
			{ John Lottie.	{ John Lottie	{ from April.			Robartes Carr. Dec.
1792	Do.	Do.	Do.	Robartes Carr.	William Lewis			
1793	Do.	Do.	Do.	{ Paul Limrick	{ Wm. Lewis	Do.	{ Thos. Clark	{ Do.
				{ Robartes Carr.		Do.	{ Do.	{ Do.
1794	{ David Brown	Do.	{ Abr. Thos. Clarke Ofg. in March for Thomas Clark.	{ A. A. Barbor	{ John Lottie from Jan'y.	Robartes Carr	Do.	Wm. Lewis, from Mar.
1795	Do.	Do.	{ Paul Limrick	Do.	.....	Do.	Do.	Do.
1796	Do.	Do.	Do.	William Lewis	.....	Do.	Vacant.	Thos. Clark, from Jan.
1797	{ David Brown from March.	{ In March became J. P. Chapm., but continued to officiate at Garrison.	{ Claudius Buchanan	{ Do.	{ Vacant.	{ Wm. Tenant, H.M.S. (Ofg.)	{ Vacant.	{ Wm. Lewis, from November.
1798	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vacant.	Vacant.	.....	{ Thos. Clark [Deer. returned home on full pay.]	{ Do. Saml. Ahmuty (alias Auchmuty.)
1799	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vacant.	Vacant.	James Ward, D.D.	{ John Treacy died on his way up, Oct. 11th.	{ H.M.S. Ofg.
1800	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vacant.	Vacant.	Vacant.	{ S. Ahmuty	{ William Lewis
							{ H.M.S. Ofg.	{ James Ward, D.D.

* Also Mathematical School Master.

H. M. Rogers had at this time been Chaplain at Cawnpore.

APPENDIX F.

SUCCESSION OF THE CHAPLAINS AT THE PRESIDENCY CHURCH.

A.D.	SENIOR.	JUNIOR.	
<i>Chaplains "at the Bay of Bengal."</i>			
1677	1. John Evans, M.A., Oxf.	.....	<i>Elected November 2nd. Arrived at Hooghly June 23rd, 1678. Returned 1692. Bishop of Bangor 1702. Translated to Meath 1716. Died 1724.</i>
1695	2. Isaac Polowhool ...	.....	<i>Elected December 13th, 1695. Late of Bombay Establishment. [No evidence that he took over charge in Bengal.]</i>
1699	3. Benjamin Adams, M.A., Camb.	.....	<i>Elected November 22nd. Arrived June 6th, 1700. Returned home Michaelmas 1706.</i>
1700	.....	1. William Anderson, B.A., Camb.	<i>Not on Establishment.</i>

Chaplains of "Fort William in Bengal." St. Anne's consecrated June 5th, 1700.

1706	4. William Anderson, B.A.	.....	<i>W. A. died at sea or at Madras about September 1711.</i>
1713	5. Samuel Briercliffe, B.A., Camb.	.....	<i>Arrived November 20th, died August 14th, 1717.</i>
1720	6. Joshua Thomlinson, M.A., Camb.	.....	<i>Arrived 1719-20 January 23rd, died May 30th of the same year. A founder of the Charity School.</i>
1722	7. Joseph Paget, B.A., Camb.	.....	<i>Arrived March 27th, died at Dacca, March 26th, 1724.</i>
1726	8. Gervas Bollamy ...	.....	<i>Arrived August 22nd. Perished in the Black Hole June 20th, 1756.</i>
743	.....	2. Robert Wynch ...	<i>Transferred from Fort St. George, died 1747.</i>
1747	.....	3. Charles Webber ...	<i>To 1749.</i>
1749	.....	4. Robert Mapletoft, M.A., Camb.	<i>Perished at Fulla (?), 1756.</i>

St. Anne's being destroyed, the Portuguese Church of "Our Lady of the Rosary" was taken for the Presidency Church, 1757.

1757	9. Richard Cobbe, R.N.	.....	<i>Chaplain to Admiral Watson, died 1757.</i>
1757	10. Thomas Northcote	.....
1758	1. Henry Butler, B.A., Oxf.	.....	<i>Chaplain of Bencoolen. Arrived here January and detained. Died November 12th, 1761.</i>

A.D.	SENIOR.	JUNIOR.	
175	6. John Cape	... Arrived probably at end of the year, died December 26th, 1761.
1759	[John Moore	... Temporary 3rd Chaplain. After a few months exchanged to Bencoolen in place of Mr. Butler who should have gone there.]

The Portuguese Church restored to the Portuguese and "St. John's Chapel" built in the Old Fort 1760.

1762	12. Samuel Stavoley, M.A., Camb., R.N.	.....	Transferred from Fort St. George, arrived January and died October 25th.
1762	.....	7. William Hirst, M.A., Camb., R.N.	Chaplain to Admiral Cornish. Appointed March 18th, resigned November 26th, 1764.
1763	13. Furnival Bowen, B.A., Oxf.	.....	October 17th to end of 1764. (?)
1763	.....	[William Parry of H.M. 48th Regt.	Temporary 3rd Chaplain.]
1765	14. William Parry	...	Died April 13th, 1769.
1766	.....	8. Thomas Blomer, B.A., Camb.	Died June 17th, 1767.
1768	.....	9. Thomas Yato, B.A., Oxf.	Appointed September 6th.
1769	15. Thomas Yato, B.A.	.....	April 13th, transferred to Garrison December 31st, 1771. Died April 14th, 1782.
1769	.....	10. Joseph Baines	... Chaplain of Bencoolen. Officiated in Bengal from close of 1769 to March 1772.
1771	.....	11. James Burn, D.D.	
1772	16. James Burn, D.D.	...	From January 1st. He returned home March 16th, 1784.
1772	.. ..	12. William Johnson	... From January 1st.
1784	17. William Johnson	...	March 16th. He returned home February 1788.
1784	.....	13. Thomas Blanshard	Transferred from Garrison March 25th.

The present Church of St. John consecrated June 24th, 1787.

1788	18. Thomas Blanshard	.....	From February. Lost off the French Coast, 1797.
1788	.....	14. John Owen	... February. Transferred from the Garrison. Returned home 1794.
1794	.....	15. David Brown, M.A.	Transferred from the Garrison.
1797	19. David Brown, M.A.	.....	From March. Died June 14th, 1812.
1797	.....	16. Paul Limrick	... March, transferred from the Garrison; went home on furlough January, 1809: did not return.
1809	.....	17. James Ward, D.D.	January 25th, transferred from Calcutta.

A.D.	SENIOR.	JUNIOR.	
1812 20.	James Ward, D.D.	.....	<i>Appointed July 6th. To December 12th or 13th, 1815.</i>
1812	.....	[Joseph Rawlins Henderson, M.A., Oxf.	<i>Officiating.]</i>
1813	.....	18. Henry Shepherd, LL.B.	<i>Appointed April 10th.</i>
1815 21.	Henry Shephord, LL.B.	.....	<i>From December 13th. Went on furlough July 1817.</i>
1815	.....	19. Joseph Parson, M.A., Camb.	<i>From December 13th, transferred from Merrut.</i>
1817	[Joseph Parson, M.A.] ...	[John Paget Hastings, B.A., Oxf.]	<i>Both officiating from July.</i>
1818	[Daniel Corrie, LL.B.] ...	.....	<i>Officiating.]</i>
1819 22.	Daniel Corrie, LL.B.	.....	<i>From March, Archdeacon of Calcutta, October 24th, 1823, Is Bishop of Madras, died February 5th, 1837.</i>
1823 23.	Joseph Parson, M.A.	.....	<i>From October.</i>
1823	.. ...	20. William Eales, M.A.	<i>From October.</i>
1824 24.	William Eales, M.A.	.....	<i>From January. To January 1832.</i>
1824	.....	21. Thomas T. Thomson, M.A.	<i>Transferred from Mission Church, January. To February 1826. Died at the Isle of France, June 22nd, 1829.</i>
1826	.....	22. John Young, M.A.	<i>From March to November.</i>
1827	.....	[Thomas Robertson, B.A.	<i>Officiating from January.]</i>
1827	.....	23. Joseph Rawlins Henderson, M.A.	<i>From April to February 1830.</i>
1830	.....	24. Thomas Robertson, B.A.	<i>From March.</i>
1832 25.	Thomas Robertson, B.A.	.. ...	<i>From February.</i>
1832	.....	25. Henry Fisher ...	<i>From February.</i>
1836	... ..	[Henry Parish, D.C.L.	<i>Offg. from February.]</i>
1838 26.	Henry Fisher ...	.....	<i>From February. To April 1844, died at Mussoorie 16th March 1845, aged 73.</i>
1838	.....	[Henry Saunderson Fisher	<i>Officiating from February to April.]</i>
1840	.....	26. William Palmer, B.A.	<i>From January.</i>
1840	[William Palmer] ...	[H. S. Fisher] ...	<i>Both Offg. from February to December.</i>
1842	.....	27. Henry Saunderson Fisher	<i>From July.</i>
1844 27.	Henry Saunderson Fisher	.....	<i>From July. Transferred to St. Paul's Cathedral. October 1847.</i>
1844	.....	[William Ord Ruspini, M.A.	<i>Offg. from July. To December 1845.]</i>
1846	.....	28. William Ord Ruspini, M.A.	<i>From January.</i>

A. D.	SENIOR.	JUNIOR.	
1847	28. William Ord Rus- pini, M.A.	.....	<i>From October. [Still styled "Ju- nior Presidency Chaplain," died August 1853, aged 49.]</i>
1847	.....	29. Arthur Hamilton	<i>From October "Junior Chaplain of St. John's."</i>
1850	.....	[Thomas Wood	<i>... From January. To January 1851.]</i>
1850	[Arthur Hamilton	... ..	<i>Officiating from March to Decem- ber.]</i>
1850	29. Arthur Hamilton	... ..	<i>From December. To January 1853.]</i>
1851	.....	30. Richard Panting. M.A.	<i>From January to November.</i>
1851	...	31. John Chippindale Montesquieu Bellew, Sc.L. Oxf.	<i>From December. To April 1855.</i>
1855	.....	32. Joseph Richards, M.A.	<i>From May. To February 1864.</i>
1858	30. James Coley, M.A., Oxf.	.....	<i>From March. To October 1860.</i>
1858	.. ..	[William Whitmarsh Phelps, M.A.	<i>Offg. from February. To February 1859.]</i>
1860	31. William Topley Humphrey	... ..	<i>From November. To March 1861.</i>
1861	32. Arthur Browne Spry, M.A.	.....	<i>From March. To November 1866.</i>
1864	.....	33. William Crawford Bromhead, M.A.	<i>From February. To February 1867.</i>
1866	33. Thomas Cartwright Smyth, D.D., Camb.	.....	<i>From November. To January 1867.</i>
1866	.....	34. John Stephenson, M.A.	<i>From December. To October 1872 (farlongh).</i>
1867	34. William Crawford Bromhead, M.A., Camb.	.....	<i>From February. To February 1876.</i>
1867	<i>From 1869, when St. Thomas's Parish was cut off, the Junior Chaplain of St. John's has had the special spiritual charge of the Medical College Hospital.</i>		
1869	[John Stephenson, M.A.	... ..	<i>Offg. from December. To Decem- ber 1871.]</i>
1869	.....	[Matthew Lamert, M.A., Sc.L., Oxf.	<i>Offg. from December. To Novem- ber 1871.]</i>
1872	.. ..	[William John Hunt, B.A., Camb.	<i>Offg. November and December.]</i>
1873	.....	[Andrew Hooper Etty, M.A., Oxf.	<i>Offg. from January. To April 1874.]</i>
		[William Henry Bray, M.A., Camb.	<i>Offg. July to November 14th.]</i>
1874	.....	35. William Henry Bray, M.A.	<i>From 14th November.</i>
876	35. William Henry Bray, M.A.	.....	<i>From 8th March. To February 1885.</i>

A.D.	SENIOR.	JUNIOR.	
	.....	36. Edmund Jermyn, M.A., Oxf.	<i>From 8th March. To April 26th.</i>
1876	[Arthur Charles Pearson, M.A., Camb.	.....	<i>Offg. July and August.]</i>
1876	.....	[Alfred George Arthur Robarts, M.A., Camb.	<i>Chaplain of Dinapore. Offg. from November 1877.]</i>
1877	.....	37. Clement Glover Moore, M.A., Oxf.	<i>From December 1st. To September 11th, 1878.</i>
1878	[Clement Glover Moore, M.A.]	[T. W. Hunter]	<i>... Each officiating a few months.</i>
		{ A. W. L. Smith T. W. Hunter B. Darley T. W. Hunter	{ } <i>Officiating.</i>
		{ Charles Walter Jackson M. A., Oxf. A. G. A. Robarts, M.A. Theophilus John Rawson	{ <i>Offg. from March.]</i> <i>Officiating.]</i> <i>Offg. from December. To May 1881.]</i>
1882	.....	[C. W. Jackson, M.A.]	<i>Offg. from May.]</i>
1882	[Alfred George Arthur Robarts, M.A.]	.....	<i>Offg. from August to November.]</i>
1884	.....	38. John Henry Taylor, B.A., Camb.	<i>From November 26th. Furlough, 3rd December for 13 months.</i>
1885	36. John Stephenson, M.A.	.. ..	<i>From 25th February. To 11th November furlough 2 years.</i>
1885	37. John Henry Taylor, B.A.	.....	<i>From 2nd December. To April 6th, 1888.</i>
1885	.....	[C. W. Jackson, M.A.]	<i>Offg. from January.]</i>
1887	.....	[Gilbert Watling, B.A., Camb.]	<i>Offg. from January.]</i>
1888	38. Henry Barry Hyde, M.A., Dur.	.....	<i>From April 6th. To January 15th, 1894.</i>
1889	.....	[Charles Plomer Hopkins]	<i>Officiating.]</i>
1890	.....	[C. W. Jackson, M. A.]	<i>Offg. from January to the present time.]</i>
1890	[William Jerome Burdett, B.A., Oxf.]	.....	<i>Offg. from July 22nd to October 21st.]</i>
1893	[Walter-Paul-Gray Field, M.A.]	.....	<i>Offg. April 13th to July 12th.]</i>
1894	39. William-Arthur Grant Luckman, M.A.	.....	<i>January 15th to February 10th, 1895.</i>
1894	[Hugh-Robert Coulthard, M.A.]	.....	<i>Offg. July 17th to October 17th.]</i>
1895	38. H. B. Hyde, M.A.	.....	<i>Resumed, February 10th to October 29th.</i>
1895	35. W. H. Bray, M.A.	.....	<i>Resumed, November 15th to May 4th, 1897.</i>
1897	38. H. B. Hyde, M.A.	<i>Resumed, May 15th to September 26th, 1898.</i>
1899	40. Graham Sandberg, B.A., Dub.	<i>September 26th.</i>

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